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Editorial E. T. 401

Horace and the Philologists B. L. Ullman 403

A Letter to Horace Helen Coats Crew 418

Latin's Legions in New York State Harold G. Thompson 426

Some Unique Coins in the Wulfin Collection, Washington University
Thomas Shearer Duncan 437

Notes

Two Tacitean Parallels to the Present Day George McCracken 441

Cadant Arma Togae John W. Speeth, Jr. 442

Imens' Vocabulary Harold Wm. Miller 442

Subsidization of Athletes Chester G. Starr, Jr. 444

The Greek Cart-Horse A. D. Fraser 445

Book Reviews 448

J. Holland Rose, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World* (Lord); A. S. Hunt and
C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri with an English Translation* (Kraemer); Edgar H. Sturte-
vant, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language* (Skiles); A. L. Irwin, *Cicero's
Correspondence* (Potter); G. T. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*
(Brady).

Hints for Teachers 456

Current Events 460

Recent Books 464

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Editorial

THE INTEGRATED PROGRAM FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Much has been written and said recently about the integrated curriculum for secondary schools, and the center around which such a curriculum should be built. At the recent meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association there was a panel discussion of "The Place of Foreign Languages in an Integrated Secondary School Program." At no time did the chairman of this meeting clearly state exactly what an integrated program was or what subject of study should furnish the center around which integration might take place, but we were led to believe that social studies were to furnish that center.

That all educational programs should be integrated, in the sense that each part should contribute to a well-rounded and effective whole; and that each part, with this common end in view, should consciously contribute to every other part of the program wherever fields of interest meet, in order that all may jointly contribute their utmost to the advancement of the student's complete interest; is, of course, an ideal subscribed to by all educators, and, indeed, by all sensible persons. Nor would classicists object to making man's social existence the central point of whatever curriculum might be adopted. But we should wish to define social existence in terms much broader than vocational training, or the history of our own times. We should object to reframing our educational policy upon the basis of a post-depression emotion; for

though the experiences of these years have gripped us hard, they have not shaken our conviction that a man is best equipped for living when both his sympathies and his knowledge have been broadened far beyond the here and the now into the life of everywhere and every time.

✓ We believe that the most serious defect of present-day education is a lack of perspective both in space and time. We believe that a broad perspective may be got from an intelligent study of history, *both* ancient and modern. We believe that an even broader perspective may be got from an intelligent study of literature, *both* ancient and modern; for, whereas history deals mostly with the external life and activities of the great, literature gives the most complete reflection of the whole life of a given age and people. It is to literature, therefore, that we must turn for a true knowledge of other peoples, whether they be modern or ancient, American or European. To know the language of France or Germany is to know their literatures, and such knowledge opens the door to sympathetic understanding. To know the literature of Rome and Greece not only broadens the horizon of our intellect and our sympathies, but also deepens our perspective of temporal and causal relationships.

To realize this intimate kinship with the broad present and the deep past makes a man of poise, who will not be swayed by the wind of the moment or the surging passion of ultra-nationalism. And so long as we insist that the product of education shall be a man, the classicists will insist that he be a real man, a citizen of the world, and not merely a cog to fit into some other man's wheel.

It must be, we realize, that many are not so endowed by nature or circumstanced by fortune as to be able to pursue the path of culture to its goal, and that for such the trade and vocational school should open the way for successful living. But to all who can, or even think they can, pursue the course that leads to broad and sympathetic living, the important literatures of foreign peoples, both modern and ancient, should always be available. These are the truly social studies of all time, and around these as a center an integrated program of studies can be built that no vicissitudes either of time or place can disturb; for literature is life.

E.T.

HORACE AND THE PHILOLOGIANS¹

By B. L. ULLMAN
University of Chicago

Vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis? "Do you wish your poems to be used as dictation exercises in fourth-rate schools?"

Such is Horace's rhetorical question in one of his satires.² This is often taken to mean that he did not want his poems to become textbooks. But the context shows that he is merely disclaiming a desire for wide publicity for his satirical writing. He is obviously stressing the word *vilibus*, "fourth-rate." In any case in one of his most important and prominently placed odes he says that he sings *virginibus puerisque*.³ In the satire quoted Horace presents the familiar doctrine that he is writing for the few, the *equites*, as he puts it figuratively. The thought is an echo of the more elaborate discussion in the fourth satire, in which he criticizes the publicity seekers who give lectures or readings of their verses and want their names to come *Romana in ora*, or, as we should say today, into the newspaper headlines. He is not interested in having his books on display among the best sellers of the big bookstores in the Argiletum, or, we might say, on the tables of the department stores in the after-Christmas sales for *hoi polloi* to paw over.⁴ How much this may smack of sour grapes we cannot tell. But even in the *Epistles*, when his reputation among his contemporaries was assured, he still refuses to use the scratch-my-back-and-I'll-scratch-yours method of attending lectures, a method which the *profanum vulgus* says that members of some associations (not of course ours) follow; that is, of listening to the papers of

¹ Presidential address before the American Philological Association, New York, December 26, 1935.

² I, 10, 75.

³ III, 1, 4.

⁴ *Quis manus insudet vulgi* (*Serm.* I, 4, 71 f.).

their fellow members in the hope that the latter may do likewise unto them. Horace says that he is not like the politician looking for votes, that he will not bribe the critics, *grammaticas ambire tribus*,⁵ by attending their recitations. *Hinc illae lacrimae*, he adds. And finally in the epilogue to the first book of *Epistles*,⁶ he tells his book that even this fate awaits it, of growing old while teaching the ABC's to children, *pueros elementa docentem*.

Since literary criticism was practiced chiefly by schoolmasters and authors in ancient times, to be used in the schools as a textbook meant to be subjected to the criticism of the teachers. Horace makes clear enough that some of his own critical ideas go back to *Orbilius plagosus*, his "slappy" teacher.

Be that as it may, Horace soon found his way into the schools, and ever since many a youngster has found the poet's *monumentum* to be *aere durius*, if not *perennius*. Though the first actual reference to Horace's use in the schools does not occur before Juvenal,⁷ the fact that annotated editions were made as early as the first century is a sure indication that our author was already the subject of lectures by the *grammatici*, or professors of literature. For then as now the annotated edition was the outgrowth of years of teaching experience by an individual who profited too from the experience of other annotators and teachers. Although the earliest of these commentaries have been lost, we actually have the names of their authors, Probus, Modestus, and others. We may well attribute to such an early source some of the titles of the poems. The term *ecloga*, applied to the single satires of Horace in the manuscripts and scholia, probably goes back to the first century, for it is used at that time by Statius in reference to the single poems of his *Silvae*.

The earliest commentary which has been preserved is that of Porphyrio, of the third century. Unquestionably Porphyrio had access to valuable materials now lost to us. But it has been a troublesome problem for his modern successors to decide what is true and what is false in Porphyrio. Just because he makes a statement it is not necessarily true, nor does it follow that it is false. We must frankly admit that sometimes we do not know. Yet if

⁵ *Ep.* I, 19, 40.

⁶ I, 20, 17.

⁷ VII, 226 f.

we do not know, and have no good reason to question Porphyrio's statement, we should accept it. I say this because in the last century there has been a tendency to undue skepticism. This is one of the faults of modern philologists which it is the aim of this paper to criticize. To take one slight instance. In one passage Porphyrio identifies a certain Turius as a judge of Cicero's time. It is true that there is disagreement between Porphyrio and later scholiasts, but not on the essential point. Why then reject the testimony, as some do? What difference does it make, a fictitious interlocutor of the Horatian type would ask. A great deal, for the question has a bearing on a larger question, Who were the people whom Horace satirizes? Were they living or dead, real or fictitious? And that, you must grant, I think, is a matter of real significance for the understanding of Horace and for the history of satire.

But the ancient philologists were not satisfied with interpreting and annotating our author; they were textual critics too. In and after the time of Nero, Probus combined both functions, but it cannot be proved, as Leo suggested, that our manuscripts of Horace are derived from his critical edition. Some of our manuscripts indicate that they go back to a text corrected by a certain Mavortius, who was consul in the year 527. In any case our manuscripts probably have been influenced by one or more ancient critics. Whether that is a good thing or not is hard to say. Undoubtedly the ancient critics, like their modern progeny, eliminated errors in the corrupt texts with which they dealt by study of other manuscripts and by happy emendations. That their texts were corrupt is not merely an assumption, though it would be a reasonable one even if we had no evidence. To quote just one bit: Cicero in writing about the restoration of his library after his return from exile deplores the fact that it is difficult to get correct copies of Latin books, *ita mendose exscribuntur*.⁸ We leave our consideration of the ancient philologists with the uneasy feeling that we are forced to read Horace's poems as the philologists, not the author, wanted them to be read. But that is not all, nor the worst.

After all, we do not have Mavortius' own copy of his edition, much less copies of earlier editions. Our earliest manuscripts be-

⁸ Q. Fr. III, 5, 6, 6.

long to the ninth century, the period of the Carolingian renaissance, when another generation of philologists attacked problems of text and interpretation. How much the text of Horace owes to them or suffered from them we do not know; but it is their text and theirs only to which we have recourse.

As a matter of fact, we are somewhat uneasy about the text of Horace. It is true that we are constantly assured that the Horace text is settled, that the manuscripts are in essential agreement. But is this complacency justified? The fact remains that no entirely satisfactory explanation of the relations of our manuscripts has ever been proposed. A careful study of more of the existing manuscripts than have yet been reported even by those prodigious workers, Keller and Holder, may solve the problem. To complicate matters, there is the lost Blandinian manuscript, regarded by some as superior to any now in existence. The most recent scholar to discuss the subject has come out more strongly than any of his predecessors in favor of its authenticity and surpassing excellence.⁹ But it is difficult to shake off one's suspicions. The reports of sixteenth and seventeenth century scholars on lost manuscripts must be examined very closely and a lost manuscript must be regarded as guilty until proved innocent. Even when fraud is ruled out, there is always the possibility of incompetence in judging the age of a manuscript, and there is absolute certainty that scholars of those centuries were careless and inaccurate and that their reports are incomplete.

Granted that the manuscripts are in substantial agreement, it must be remembered that the word "substantial" is relative, not fixed. There are many passages in which they disagree, or if they agree, they are perhaps wrong. In this situation the emending scholar finds an opportunity to ply his nefarious trade. Or shall we say rather that he is a surgeon, sometimes skilled, sometimes not, and if skilled, sometimes unscrupulous and ready to operate on any case that comes before him? Emendation is a very important philological process, and in the hands of an able technician it has at times led to remarkable results. But I am constantly

⁹ G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*: Florence, Le Monnier (1934), 381 ff., and *Studi ital. fil. class.* xii (1935), 41.

amazed at the readiness of some scholars to resort to emendation. It seems to be a sort of game, or perhaps an exercise, like that of writing Latin verse. Or it is like writing to the *London Times* when the tram service in Perugia is unsatisfactory.

In the case of Horace it is that much overrated scholar, Richard Bentley (did I hear a gasp?), who is to blame for so-called emendations that still disfigure the text, though many have been eliminated. He is also responsible for giving currency to readings of inferior manuscripts and to poor emendations of earlier scholars. How a scholar who emended Milton's *Paradise Lost* in some 800 passages can be treated with the awe and respect that are still accorded Bentley is one of the unsweet mysteries of the philological life. The lines of Milton on the manufacture of gunpowder in hell read:

Sulphurous and nitrous foam,
They found, they mingled, and with subtle art
Concocted . . . they reduced

This Bentley changed to:

Sulphurous and nitrous foam
They *pound*, they *mingle*, and with *sooty chark*
Concocted . . . , they *reduce*

Five changes in less than three lines. His excuse is that you can't make gunpowder without charcoal (*chark*).¹⁰

The last two lines of *Paradise Lost* speak of Adam and Eve:

They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.

In Bentley's hands this became:

Then hand in hand with *social* steps *their way*
Through Eden took, with *heav'nly comfort cheer'd*.

Eight changes in two lines! Bentley's work on Horace is about as bad as that on Milton, but is not so easily proved wrong. His chief fault is that of applying the searing blast of inexorable logic to the poet's fragile flowers. His aim is not merely to emend corrupt manuscripts but to improve on the faltering Horace.

¹⁰ *P. L.* VI, 509 (R. C. Jebb, *Richard Bentley*: London and New York, Macmillan and Co. [1899], 181).

The two emendations in Horace which particularly arouse my *furor philologicus* against Bentley did not originate with him at all, but if he had not defended them so vigorously they surely would have died quickly and quietly. As it is, they still thresh about in some of our textbooks. One is in *Ode* 1, 23, 5f., where Horace compares shy Chloe to a fawn that is frightened by the slightest sound, as when the coming of spring (*adventus veris*) rustles in the shifting leaves. Bentley argues that there are no leaves when spring comes, and therefore accepts an emendation which destroys all the poetry of Horace's fine phrase. We might take a leaf out of Bentley's notebook and say that if Horace didn't write *adventus veris* he should have done so.

The other line is *Ode* 1, 2, 39. In decrying war Horace, the poet of peace, describes the agonies of a fight to the death between two combatants:

Acer et Mauri peditis cruentum
Vultus in hostem

"The look of hate of the unhorsed Moor at his blood-smeared foe."

As the Moorish soldiers generally were cavalry, Bentley finds *peditis* incompatible and changes *Mauri* to *Marsi*. But the felicitous arrangement of Horace's words shows that Bentley is wrong: *peditis* and *cruentum* are placed in juxtaposition for contrast. Just as the one fighter is handicapped by wounds (*cruentum*), so the other is at a disadvantage through losing his horse, hence *peditis*. The poet has given us a vivid snapshot of the death struggle. The picture, miniature though it be, recalls the sculptured figure of the dying Gaul, though it represents action, as a Myron would have portrayed it, rather than inactivity.

The fact of the matter is that Bentley was not the man to deal critically with a poet like Horace. He lacked a sense of humor, a fatal defect in a reader of the genial satirist who believed in *ridentem dicere verum*, presenting a philosophy of life in a jesting manner. If Bentley had had a sense of humor he would not have given us so many chances to laugh at him. In the eighth satire Horace says that the witch Canidia's breath is more poisonous than African snakes. Bentley objects that the breath of African snakes cannot reach all the way to Rome! Another defect in Bent-

ley is that he demanded too much scientific exactness of Horace. Because foxes don't eat grain, Bentley must emend Horace's fable so that it is a mouse instead of a fox that breaks into the bin. Bentley does not realize that the story is a much better one if a cunning fox is imprisoned by his greed. Again, he has no understanding of metaphors or other figures of speech. He is also too strict in his syntax, like the high-school teacher who thinks that only constructions found in Caesar are good Latin.

But if Bentley had so little understanding of Horace, why did he emend and edit our poet's work? He tells us himself: because Horace was so well-known and so much loved by all. An edition of Horace would undoubtedly attract wide attention in the Horace-loving England of the eighteenth century.¹¹ It was a field in which Bentley thought that he could make his talents (and he had talents, great talents) appear to best advantage.

But why so much about Bentley? Not only because some of his readings still persist, but even more because his spirit goes marching on. We still have too many Bentleys operating unintelligently on our classical texts. People seem to think that Bentley may rise up to smite them if they disagree with him. The terror and awe which he inspired in his contemporaries by his violent and clever onslaughts have not faded completely. For, as Lytton Strachey says, Bentley "treated his opponents as if they had been corrupt readings in an old manuscript."¹² But, it might be added, corrupt readings are deservedly being treated with more tenderness in this day and age.¹³

But let us leave the text of Horace and look into the matter of interpretation. Whether it be Bentley's influence or not, logic has played too prominent a part here too.

The application of logic to philological investigation is of course a highly desirable procedure, but a bit of *aurea mediocritas* is

¹¹ Caroline Goad, *Horace in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1918), 7: "Horace was the most frequently quoted and deferred to of any classic author."

¹² "The Sad Story of Dr. Colbatch," in *Portraits in Miniature*: New York, Harcourt (1931), 62.

¹³ A detailed study of Bentley's work on Horace will be published in a dissertation by one of my students, Mr. H. R. Jolliffe.

necessary in dealing with poetry. Here the psychological approach is sometimes better than that of stiff-necked logic. An excellent example is furnished by the *Integer vitae* ode. This has perplexed many scholars, even scholars about whose keen appreciation of poetry there can be no doubt. You recall the outline of the poem. Horace begins by making the general statement that the upright man is free from danger wherever he goes. He cites as proof of the truth of this generalization that a wolf ran away from him while he was walking in the woods composing verses. Therefore, he ends, he will continue to write verse. Most critics believe that the poem is a joke, because Horace cannot be serious in suggesting that the wolf ran away from him just because he was a poet. They point out that the ode is addressed to one Fuscus, who is mentioned in one of the satires as a person who plays a mean trick on the poet by jokingly leaving him in the lurch when Horace was trying to get rid of a pestiferous individual. Once a joker, always a joker, they argue. Here is a distinct defect in our philological method, a defect caused by scarcity of evidence. One swallow has to make a philological summer just because there are no other swallows, nor even English sparrows. I am afraid that much of our philological superstructure rests on such slight foundations. To make matters worse, the satire in which Fuscus is a joker was written between 38 and 35 B.C., and our ode five to fifteen years later. And that is not all. In the tenth satire, written after the ninth and before the ode, Fuscus is not a joker, nor is he one in the tenth epistle, written in 20 or 19 B.C.

Those who do not insist on the humorous character of our ode, at least point out the inconsistency between the opening lines and the wolf episode and condemn the poem as inartistic. But the trouble is with the critics; they are too logical. Even those who defend Horace and who take him seriously have had to give a forced meaning to his words.

If one approaches the poem psychologically all our difficulties disappear. Horace built his poems about observations of life. He tells us in one of his satires that he likes to walk about the streets, watching people, such as the fortune-tellers and their patrons. This particular experience he then translates into the famous

carpe diem ode, in which he advises Leuconoe to stay away from the astrologers. So in the *Integer vitae* ode. Horace was walking in the forest, composing verses. A wolf crossed his path and ran away, as wolves ordinarily do. The poet's immediate reaction is one of surprise that the wolf did not attack him. Why not? Horace had no weapon, made no threatening move; he was merely making up verses. What more natural than to see, momentarily, a relation of cause and effect between the two facts? He was composing verses; *ergo* the wolf ran away. Horace of course did not seriously mean this; nor was he joking either. It was his job, as a poet, to jot down his impressions—illogical logic and all. The very fact that his logic is illogical makes this a fine impressionistic poem. The generalization is no less true because it is a *non sequitur*. The ending of the poem, too, is quite in keeping: he will continue to write lyric verse. That is all, I think, that he means when he says that he will always love Lalage.

A somewhat similar problem exists in the thirty-fourth ode, which is often wrongly labeled as a recantation of Epicureanism. This philosophical system explained thunder as caused by the clashing of two clouds. But Horace hears thunder in a clear sky; therefore, he reflects, Epicureanism is false. But does that mean that he abandons Epicureanism? Hardly. Horace is no zealot, who must accept a given creed in its entirety or reject it. As a matter of fact he had no interest in Epicurean science, whether for its own sake or for its application to the question of death; he was no Lucretius. Ethics alone engaged his attention. Nor on the other hand are we to interpret the ode as playful. Here again Horace is responding to an external stimulus, as the psychologists might say. Thunder in a clear sky naturally recalls the explanation of thunder which he learned from the Epicureans. That explanation obviously is wrong; is the usual explanation, that thunder is caused by the personal interference of Jupiter, right after all? In saying that Jupiter threw his thunderbolt Horace is serious but not literal, poetic but not playful; he is reacting psychologically, not scientifically. The significant part of the poem comes at the end, following his impressionistic picture. After depicting the power of Jupiter, he says that the god makes the mighty to fall

and the humble to rise. Thus the chance observation of a natural phenomenon leads by an unlogical process to a reflection on the uncertainties of life, just as, surprisingly enough, the coming of joyous spring elsewhere causes our poet to reflect on the nearness of death. Nor is it without significance that Horace passes from Jupiter to the more generalized *deus* and finally to Fortune and that the poem which follows is addressed to the same goddess. What interested Horace was not the question whether there were gods or not, but the fact that life is fleeting and full of pitfalls. There is no nature for nature's sake in Horace, as there is no art for art's sake; rather nature and art are for man's sake. That principle explains, I think, many passages that have puzzled and even irritated critics, especially in the last century or more.

Another defect of the philological method, or rather of its application, is quite different and yet similar, in that it is purely mechanical. I was once criticized for interpreting *reptare* in Horace's fourth epistle as referring to the dragging steps of a dejected individual. My critic thought it had the meaning, "saunter," as in one of Pliny's letters. How can such a matter be determined? Only by context. If Horace were talking about a bright spring day, "saunter" would be the idea. Only context tells us here and in Pliny that the gentlemen involved were not actually crawling on all fours. Horace's fourth epistle is full of gloom, Tibullus' gloom, which our poet tries to lighten, even to the point of calling himself an Epicurean pig in the hope that this description of his roly-poly self might bring a smile to the face of his melancholy friend. Every writer and speaker of course relies on context to make his meaning clear, but the poet especially makes artistic use of it. I once suggested in connection with a Horatian problem that in a certain poem of Calvus *putidum* ("putrid") hinted at a well-known rhetorical use of the word in allusion to the Asiatic style. My suggestion was based on the context. It was pointed out to me that *putida moecha* in Catullus has no such connotation. I quite agree and can only hope that no one will accuse me of wanting to translate *putidum ovum* as "Asiatic egg."

Now Horace was peculiarly sensitive to context. The *callida iunctura* of the *Ars Poetica* in part refers, I think, to the coloring

given to words by association with others. After all a word should be studied and judged by the company it keeps, especially in poetry and artistic prose.

Horace's debt to rhetorical theory is no slight one, and I am one of those who have shouted this from the housetops. But there is a golden mean to be observed here too, and one should not push a virtue, even a philological virtue, to the point that it becomes a vice. I am thinking of the *Ars Poetica* and its misinterpretation, or rather overinterpretation. Undeniably there is much rhetorical theory in this much misunderstood poem. But to force it into a rigid scheme is philological asininity and inanity. Horace as a poet deliberately avoids the firstly, secondly, thirdly of a sober treatise. He goes to much trouble to conceal the arrangement of his material. How it must grieve him as he saunters (*replat*, should I say?) in the fields across the Styx, to discover scholars busily dividing his poem into sections and subsections and fitting it into the approved schemes of the Alexandrians.

A favorite philological pastime has been to search out all possible Greek sources for Horace and other Roman writers. This is in itself quite commendable, but the comparisons are sometimes far-fetched and, more important still, the conclusions are not seldom quite erroneous. If some of our philologists are right, a Roman writer cannot trim his fingernails, so to speak, in his verse, or comb his hair or kiss his sweetheart without taking the thought and the expression from a Greek source. To be sure, Horace and other Latin authors are partly to blame for this situation, for they never tire of setting forth their dependency on the Greeks. Our zealous philologists accept these statements at full value and more, and with the utmost enthusiasm search for Greek sources, not realizing that the Greek stamp was merely a hallmark, and that not everything that is marked sterling comes from England.

So in Horace not every Stoic idea is due to the influence of Stoicism. Some thoroughly Roman ideas happen to coincide with Stoic doctrine, and Horace, familiar with Stoic language, dresses the Roman thoughts in Stoic garb. They are still just as Roman as before. Horace introduces them, not because they are Stoic, but

because they are the outgrowth of his experience and that of his fellow Romans.

In any case the conclusion that some philologists draw is that there is little or no originality in Horace or in the rest of Latin literature. Only Greek literature is great; Latin has no value, except perhaps as base metal from which Greek gold may be extracted. This patronizing attitude becomes decidedly wearisome and is, in my opinion, quite unjustified. If Latin literature is worthless because it borrows Greek ideas and phraseology, what about the modern literatures which borrow from Latin? And what about Greek literature itself? There were brave thinkers before Homer smote his lyre, though fortunately for the originality of Greek literature their thoughts have perished. It is absurd to think that every idea and phrase in Homer and Pindar, Sophocles and Euripides, is original in the sense in which that word is used by some scholars. The fact is that, apart from those odes which are obvious translations from the Greek, Horace's ideas are largely the result of his own observations and experience.

As to the language of Horace, the case for originality is even stronger. It has become trite to speak of his *curiosa felicitas*, that felicitous expression invented by a person inspired by Horace—though I suppose someone will rise up to say that even this phrase is borrowed from the Greek. Undoubtedly Horace's language and style were influenced by Greek and it is very useful to trace this influence, but again the conclusions sometimes drawn are unjustified. The fact is that Greek literature is taken as a standard of measure, and not only close imitation of it but also deviation from it is regarded as a sign of inferiority. There is, for example, the supposed poverty of the Latin language as compared with the richness of Greek. The absence in Horace's poems of the long compound adjectives of Greek poetry is especially commented on. But earlier Latin poetry shows that the Romans could imitate the Greek style in adjectives. The point is that Horace did not want to.¹⁴ His taste and that of his generation did not run in that direction. Yet his independence of Greek is treated as a defect by some.

¹⁴ Cf. too John G. Glenn, "Compounds in Augustan Elegy and Epic," *Class. Weekly* xxix (1936), 65: "Caesar and Horace, on the other hand, avoided them."

His restraint in other features of style is also deliberate and arises from his temperament and that of the Roman people. Horace's term for the poets who closely followed the Greek practice in writing lyric and satiric verse was no doubt *inepti*, in bad taste. We recall Cicero's discussion, in which he says that the Greeks have no word for it, this idea of ineptitude, and draws the conclusion that they could not distinguish between good and bad taste, and are therefore often *inepti*.¹⁵ Now this is of course a bit of national prejudice, such as is not uncommon in Cicero, a prejudice which shows itself in exaggerating differences between the two nations. But the remark calls attention to differences in point of view and to the need of establishing different principles and standards (not necessarily lower) for different literatures. In saying this I am well aware that I am inviting the attack of those who hold that the principles of art are fixed and inviolable. But perhaps we differ merely in the definition of the word "principle." At any rate it seems to me that he is inept who criticizes Horace, even by implication, for failing to achieve the sonorousness of the torrential Pindar. Perhaps one Pindar is quite enough. Certainly I can see no point in discussing Horace's style by contrasting it with that of the Greek. And it surely is inconsistent to damn him in the same breath both for being unlike the Greeks and for stealing their ideas and expressions.

In the announcement of a recent Horace celebration at a certain institution, it is stated, with complete irrelevance, that Horace's phrase, "a lazy swine from Epicurus' herd," "may well [I quote] have been acquired by the poet from some one else, as Horace was a ready sweeper up of unconsidered trifles." Now it may be that Horace's joking at his own expense entitles others to allude to him by imitating Shakespeare's phrase, "snapper-up of unconsidered trifles," but why compare him to the petty thief Autolycus? If Horace is a thief, let's make him a really first-class thief. But seriously, why drag in such gratuitous and undeserved insults into a Horace celebration? Yet the blame is not with the person who wrote this description of Horace, since he was merely airing his learning; but rather with the scholars who have written about

¹⁵ *De Or.* II, 17.

Horace and have exaggerated his indebtedness to the Greeks. It is not enough for the scholar who investigates Horace's Greek sources to disclaim any such conclusions; he should also warn his readers against making them.

Please do not misunderstand me. I do not object to the investigation of the Greek sources of Horace or of any other Roman writer; I welcome it. But I do object to the conclusions often drawn from such investigations, that Latin literature has no meaning or value of its own. All honor and glory to the Greeks for the influence they had on Roman literature, and through it, as well as directly, on modern literature.

In his edition of Juvenal A. E. Housman makes these remarks in his characteristic fashion:

The truth is, and the reader has discovered it by this time if he did not know it beforehand, that I have no inkling of *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte*. And to the sister science of *Quellenforschung* I am equally a stranger: I cannot assure, as some other writer will assure you before long, that the satires of Juvenal are all copied from the satires of Turnus. It is a sad fate to be devoid of faculties which cause so much elation to their owners; but I cheer myself by reflecting how large a number of human beings are more fortunate than I. It seems indeed as if a capacity for these two lines of fiction had been bestowed by heaven, as a sort of consolation-prize, upon those who have no capacity for anything else.¹⁶

I don't entirely agree with Housman either on *Ueberlieferungsgeschichte* or *Quellenforschung*, but I can sympathize with him. It is the extremist who has brought these studies into something like disrepute, at least to the mind of Housman.

I shall not presume to attempt to set forth the criteria for determining the greatness of a poet. Certainly the fact that a poet's work has lasted two thousand years is not of itself sufficient to prove his greatness, for we have only to recall some very inferior poets who have survived. But the wideness of Horace's appeal must count for something; the millions of Horace's readers can't be wrong.

Some persons criticize Horace for lack of earnestness, emotion,

¹⁶ A. E. Housman, *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae*: London, Cambridge University Press (1931), p. xxviii.

passion. This is a matter not of philology but of subjective criticism. In an age when the frank expression of strong emotion is applauded as a sign of genius, it is perhaps idle to protest that life is not a succession of strong emotions (fortunately) and that even strong emotions may sometimes be better portrayed in a subdued fashion. Again, with reference especially to the *Satires*, a point may be made at this particular time, when the bimillenary of Horace and the centenary of Mark Twain are being celebrated, that Americans should perhaps particularly appreciate. To teach a lesson through a jest (*ridentem dicere verum*) is a familiar enough idea to us, as it is that a joke will sometimes settle important problems more effectively than invective (*ridiculum acri fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res*).¹⁷

In criticizing the critics I have of course laid myself wide open to counter-criticism. It might have been wiser to recite the undeniably great advances which have been made in Horatian as in other classical studies. But perhaps a bit of self-criticism is wholesome at times. It must be admitted that the philologists have kept Horace alive and have made his boast, *non omnis moriar*, "I shall not wholly die," come true. For it is they who have taught Horace to generation after generation of students. But there is danger of giving students the impression that Horace is as fourth-rate as the *vilibus ludis* to which the poet objected. This is not to say that Horace must only be praised in superlatives; he has his limitations, and there is no harm in pointing them out. But the philologist must realize that he too has his limitations, especially in interpreting poetry. Our philological method is a fine tool, constantly being perfected, but it must be used with skill and judgment, not like a flail. *Vis consili expers mole ruit sua*.

¹⁷ *Serm.* I, 10, 14 f.

A LETTER TO HORACE

DEAR QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS:

I am writing to you because I have a claim on you; a modest claim, but one that I value. That claim is that we have a mutual birthday, for we were both born on the eighth of December, you in sixty-five and I in sixty-six. In the two thousand years between us you have never been forgotten. I have not yet been remembered.

Each year when our shared birthday rolls around I read an ode of yours. Last time it was the one advising the rustic Phidyle that her simple sacrifice of meal and salt will be pleasing to the gods, provided that it is offered with the clean hands that indicate the proper attitude of the heart. This year I wish also to write you a letter, with a heart that is warm if not spotless, and hands that have turned your pages many times in my fat brown copy that has outlived a half-century and two covers.

I knew you first in 1885, when I was young and (shall we say?) charming—charmed, anyway, and with you. A college freshman of a single day's standing, timid and ignorant, you called my attention to Mount Soracte: "You see it, do you not, white against the sky with its deep covering of snow?" To be sure I saw it. I see it yet. It has become for me the landmark by which I recognize Italy. I hear the logs crackling which you are piling upon the fire. With genial grace you bring forth amphora and wine cups. Let others take the wine you offer. I (alas!) am on the "water-wagon" and must needs refrain.

Fresh from my last school examination in Vergil, I had difficulties with your vocabulary, and with your world, which I was entering for the first time—a world into which Aesop's *Fables*, when I was eleven, had given me no glimpse, and Caesar none at twelve. A child of twelve has troubles enough with the *Gallic War* without being expected to understand it. She rises up, weak-kneed and as

timid as your Chloe, to construe (terrible word!) a few lines. She knows a battle is on, but so many *nuntii* and *legati* are moving back and forth upon the battle-field that they obstruct the view. She wonders confusedly who is winning and who losing. She falls down at the third line and is told to sit down at the fourth. She dissolves into tears, and, unable to find a handkerchief in a pocket which contains, besides a jumping rope, a ball and jacks, a slate-pencil and a sticky jaw-breaker, gives up the hunt. She mops up the overflow on a plaid woolen sleeve, with one eye looking out beneath the crook of her elbow. She sees the grim Jehovah of the schoolroom (as she calls him in secret) giving her a black mark in his terrible Domesday Book. She wishes she was dead. And buried.

But all this was a good half-dozen years before I met you, Horace. And by that time I had stowed away in my mind many of the words of your mother tongue. For meanwhile I had journeyed around the Mediterranean sea and even part way up the Adriatic on the ship of Aeneas, with old Palinurus at the helm. Pal-i-nurus! What a war-cry those syllables would make. Or college yell. But in all this sea-voyaging there were chiefly sea-words and sky-words—Pleiades, pole star, Orion, the roar of ocean, the threatening rocky cliffs, dark and dreadful storms at sea, ships sucked down in vast whirlpools.

And then, a freshman, I stepped through the looking-glass into a new world, in which your city of Rome, its smoke, its wealth and heavy display, its rabble and roar, was the central interest. Aeneas and Father Anchises and love-stricken Dido were forgotten. The long, swinging hexameters gave place to short and snappy (for the most part) meters. I made shift to scan the Sapphic and the Alcaic odes, and the *Miserarum'st* scanned itself. One had only to beat down heavily with tongue and foot on every third syllable right through the ode from start to finish, with the happy consciousness that one simply couldn't get off such a plainly beaten track. A melancholy meter it is, an excellent vehicle for Neobulë's complaint. In truth, a "Roman Blues."

And your subjects were manifold, a goodly number of them being beyond my straight and narrow experience. Later in life I discovered that you possessed the two great virtues of humor and

tolerance. Yoked together these two make a super-virtue. With them you might even have married without fear of shipwreck. You were at times a genial gossip, at times a severe critic, frequently a poet, often a philosopher. Your satires made you unpopular; your odes made you many friends. It was when you wrote your odes that you were at your kindly best—witness the *Fons Bandusiae*, the *Persicos odi*, the *Vides ut alta*, the *Integer vitae*, the *Aequam memento*. And surely you were laughing when you wrote that adorable thumb-nail sketch of a young man's hurt pride after his first refusal by a saucy girl:

*Vixi puellis nuper idoneus
et militavi non sine gloria;
nunc . . .*

and so on down to his prayer that Chloe may be properly punished.

I must confess that I have always been a bit dubious about your sincerity in the *Persicos odi*. Did you really prefer Quaker simplicity to Persian finery? I ask that as one who, having been brought up a Quaker, sat in the severely simple meeting house and yearned to "remould it nearer to the heart's desire." For I went frequently with my nurse to the cathedral, and learned there the satisfying effects of color and music and stately ceremony. This being so, I feel that you yourself, the friend of the wealthy and the great—of Maecenas and the very Emperor—coming away from a lavish banquet or a great ceremonial occasion, might very well have desired a purple stripe upon your toga, if nothing more. But I cannot believe that you were ever like Martial, who mentions his preference for *Lis nunquam, toga rara*—a lawsuit never, a dress-suit seldom—like a grouchy hermit.

You tell us that that good father of yours, so careful of your education and your morals, sent you to Rome to school, to one Orbilius, who, it seemed, would much rather flog his pupils than not. At the age of twelve or thereabouts you must have been reading Homer when I was wrestling with Caesar. This mutual suffering—you with the rod and the Greek tongue, I with your language—seems to wipe away intermediate time and space and bring us

near together. Did you write "compositions" on your wax tablet? I did mine on a slate. Did you do arithmetic? Did you have those terrible problems of how many yards of wall paper of given width it would take to paper a room of given size with so many doors and windows of given dimensions? With so much "given," was your answer, nevertheless, too large? It was because you absent-mindedly papered right over the windows and doors. Well, I pity you!

Then your father sent you to Athens, and what you did and thought there, we really do not know. But you must have walked along the Ilissus (probably dry and dusty), and have looked up at that strange, uncanny Mount Lycabettus, which seems to look down at you along any and every street, and from most unexpectedly high in the air. And when you climbed up to the top of the Acropolis, and had prayed to Athena for wisdom before her temple, greater now in its ruins than many a fine building in its smug perfection, you went to look at the Porch of the Maidens, and saw the entire stone sisterhood there. You'll be sorry to hear that one of the charming girls was kidnaped, and only a terracotta caryatid stands in her place, upon whom, I fear, the others quite look down.

Next you tried being a soldier and did not find it to your taste, and in spite of your joke about your shield, I fancy you went back to Rome a sadder and wiser man. Finally, when you had freed your system of whatsoever venom your satires contain, you ripened, grew mellow, wrote your odes, and made many friends.

You loved Rome and its streets passing well, did you not? You strolled along the Via Sacra meeting not only the bore there, but distinguished lawyers, clever politicians, priests of the temples, society women in their slave-borne litters, groups of buzzing poets, learned and unlearned alike poetizing in season and out. You saw there triumphal processions of victorious generals and funeral processions of those whom Death, uncalled for, had called.

When you wanted a new roll of papyrus, or a better amanuensis, or a new patch on your sandals, you went out the Argiletum Way. You avoided the Subura and its garlic-smelling rabble. When you were going to visit Maecenas you climbed the Esquiline

hill to where his tall new palace stood. Perchance you had a new ode to your patron, still in wax upon your tablet, carried by a slave behind you. Today you would have it in one of a dozen pockets. In either case it would be up your sleeve. In offhand fashion you would say, "By the way, Maecenas, here's a little thing I jotted down, thinking of you. . . ." And had there recently been something that all of Rome was celebrating—a victory, an honor—you and Maecenas would celebrate by drinking Chian or Lesbian wine from *capaciores scyphos*. Bigger and better cups! And perhaps drank to each other the old toast *Bibas et diu vivas!*

To wind up the day, when the sun was going down to his nightly bath in the Tyrrhenian sea, you took a constitutional loop around the Circus Maximus. But when you had done that, to what street and to what house did you go home? How we should like to know! But so far as I know—and one never knows far when one is tied to a dictionary—you made no mention of it. And at what fountain did you stop to quench your thirst? Surely Rome, that today has so many fountains, must have had a few, at least, then. One can—it has been done—give up a whole thirsty July day to quenching one's thirst there now, from bubbling fountains or trickling spouts.

Did you cross the Tiber as you went homeward, stopping to look down at its flow of muddy water, so unrelated to its pure beauty in its upper reaches, so green with reflections of green hills, so blue and silver under a smiling sky? Was your home on the Janiculum hill, where a lighthouse—gift of another nation—now stands high and dry, as though left there by a vastly swollen tide?

These questions we cannot answer, but we do know about your visit to the Adriatic sea, on an occasion when Maecenas and one or two others were, probably, sent on a mission to Brundisium. Your account is very good reading, and no doubt you enjoyed writing it. You started out with one companion and joined the others on the way, Vergil being one of them. You stopped at taverns which were below reproach, and Charon himself was doubtless a better boatman, and certainly a more experienced one, than the *naulæ* (no, not women) who poled you along the canals. Who, I ask you, was the life of the party? Who made jokes over the gnats, mosquitoes, and Bedouins? Who beguiled the way with

pleasant talk, whether grave or gay? With choice bits of gossip? With modest recital of odes? Good poet, I have a lively suspicion that it was you.

In time you reached Barium, whose last two letters have been clipped away by time. Fish-abounding Barium, you call it, and indeed the most interesting sight there now is the coming in to shore of the fishing fleets, colorful with their saffron sails and silver cargo.

From Barium your group went down the coast to Brundisium, another town from which time has filched the last two letters of its name. There two tall pillars have been erected to mark the end of the great Appian Way. One would like to put up something—say two stately cypresses—to mark the end of your journey. But one remembers just in time that the “hated cypresses” were not loved by you. I fancy to you they were rusty nails holding down the unoffending dead.

From time to time you withdrew from the hubbub of the city to the humdrum of the country, if you’ll allow me to use an adjective for a noun. Of your two retreats, your villa at Tibur and your farm in the Sabine country, it is difficult to determine which you enjoyed the more. The latter was a gift from Maecenas. It is not on record that you found fault with the gift, as did Martial in the next century, who, when presented with a farm by *his* Maecenas, wrote in an epigram that a cucumber could not stretch at length upon it, nor a caterpillar find sufficient fodder there. Martial’s Maecenas may have been that Athenagoras who, said he, “makes me tired”—*me tristem fecit*. In truth, everyone seems to have so affected Martial.

There have been numerous books written about you, and many about your great country. I’ve just been reading the English historian Gibbon on the breakup of the Roman Empire, and he has it declining and falling not only through several volumes in space, but all the way up to the very threshold of the Renaissance in time. How great a fall was that! And now the German philosopher Spengler finds all of Europe and America pretty thoroughly declined and about to fall. So it goes. Some day the universe itself, doubtless, will come crashing down over all our ruins.

But you, dear Master, have not yet either declined or fallen in the hearts of those who have struggled with your odes, satires, and epistles, and loved you in spite of difficulties—as witness the ceremonies in honor of your *bimillennium* held last year in the universities, colleges, and schools in various countries; and the travels undertaken in your country for the same purpose. Would I might have crossed the ocean and joined the latter, to your Sabine farm, and along the course of your journey from Rome to Brindisi. Yes, even if doomed to be bitten by the remote descendants (perhaps now bigger and bitier!) of those singing and stinging creatures that once tasted of your blood.

Your great language, Horace, has become immortal, as it well deserved to do. Some rank it with the dead tongues, some with the living, but in either case none deny it a long and vivid history. All the way from Augustine to John Milton, and beyond the borders of those extremes, pens have penned and tongues have spoken and sung your Latin speech. The Church has claimed and still claims it for its own, and rightly, for its sonorous and dignified charm if for no other virtue.

After all you have told us about yourself, Horace—and you've said as much about yourself as Caesar has said little about himself—I'm not sure I really know you well. Your world is alien to me, and my sex is proverbially antagonistic to yours. As man to man I would doubtless know you better, recognize your complexes, see your faults and virtues in sharper focus. But I am fond of you. You have tied up my youth with my old age. Time was when I thumbed the Latin dictionary for the sake of good grades; now I thumb it joyfully for the sake of your wisdom and charm. You cannot, I fear, expect to be called as great as Vergil, who followed a high aim with a single mind, nor as thrilling as the lad Catullus, who crossed the skies like a flaming comet, nor as stinging as Martial, nor as amusing as Terence, though, like the last, you found nothing of human interest alien to you. According to your own modest confession, you were like a bee in a meadow on the banks of the Tibur stream, filling hip-pockets (the bee's, not yours) with the nectar of wild thyme and sweet grasses for the making of honeyed songs (yours, not the bee's). I think it likely that you were in the country when you penned that confession, lying at ease

under an ilex, listening to the stream as it flowed by and to the birds, querulous (your own word) in the woods. In the country, too, I think you wrote your love poems, and I've no doubt laughing Lalage was a milkmaid, and Lydia gathered the fruit in the orchard.

And now, O Horace, I come to the time when *Pallida Mors* came and touched you on the shoulder, gently but firmly. And if now one of your virtues shines in my eyes above all others, it is your respect and affection for your father, and the high value you placed upon his many efforts for you. In this you showed yourself a man and no snob, since he, most certainly a man, was yet a freedman. We do not know where you died, but I hope it was at your Sabine farm, not far from the silver singing of the Bandusian fountain whose praise you sang, and in honor of which you were going to sacrifice a kid "tomorrow." I wonder at this procrastination—a violation of your usual *carpe diem*. Did that tomorrow ever come? The little ceremony was to take place *non sine floribus*, a rather negative way of saying you would throw it a bouquet. I like to think that you honored the fountain still more greatly by thinking of it as you lay a-dying, remembering with affection its up-bubbling, cool-dripping water, crystal at noontime, silver at moon-rise. Was it by the roadside it stood, or in the heart of the town, or perchance in a little glen, beneath the green benediction of trees? Slowly the things of this world may have blurred and mingled to your dying eyes. But perhaps to your dying ears there still seemed to sound that soft, faint music in which fountains speak.

When *Horatius fuit*, how many must have missed you!

Alas, my letter has spoken too much of myself. But since we are, because of that mutual eighth of December, *paene gemelli*, you will forgive. And when our birthday came last year-end, I read anew your *Fons Bandusiae*, and offered a prayer for you to your dark god of the dark world of shadows. I asked him to give you to hear that fountain, gracious alike to men and to thirsty flocks and cattle, singing its melodies down through your sombre Night.

Hail and farewell, dear Master. May you have many happy *millennia*.

Yours, *non sine gratiis*,

HELEN COALE CREW

Evanston, Illinois

LATIN'S LEGIONS IN NEW YORK STATE¹

By HAROLD G. THOMPSON
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One of the greatest joys in teaching is the element of the unexpected. A pupil in New York State who was being examined upon Roman amusements, when asked to name two Roman sports, wrote, "Antony and Cleopatra." Another pupil, asked to define alliteration, wrote, "Alliteration is a literary device in which the same initial letter is used in successive words to create a pleasing effect, for example, 'stylish stouts.'"

The title of this paper, too, promises some element of the unexpected, since it allows the speaker free rein to roam the whole field of Latin at will. This, however, is no time for pleasant meanderings. We teachers of Latin have long been victims of guerrilla warfare and targets for constant "sniping." It may soon be a pitched battle for our very existence. Our enemies continually reiterate their slogan, *Lingua Latina delenda est*. We must marshal all our forces and all our resources to present a united front against our foes. Good strategy demands that as allies fighting for a common cause we frankly set forth our elements of strength and weakness, as we conceive them, that each may help the other. This I propose to do as the representative of Latin in New York State.

Since possession is nine points of the law, one element of our strength is the hold Latin still has upon the schools. This we must retain. Convinced of the justice and worth of our cause, we must impart the same conviction and loyalty to others.

We teachers of Latin, however, are all too often poor salesmen

¹ Read before the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, April 19, 1935.

of our own wares. Our best protagonists are frequently found in other walks of life. What professor of Latin would not be proud to have written the editorial that appeared in the *New York Herald-Tribune* of October 16, 1932, at the death of Professor Julian Taylor of Colby College, Maine? I quote:

THE GRAND OLD MAN

To teach Latin successfully to the waves of rebellious youth that advance and break on the academic shore requires ruggedness of character. One must have granite to resist the surf, one must have salt to match the spray, and one must have that shrewd sympathy with the adolescent mind which meets its onslaught firmly but without rancor. Professor Julian D. Taylor, of Colby, who has just died after sixty-four years of implanting Latin in as many classes of students, evidently personified these qualities in a unique degree. One look at his portrait confirms the impression that here indeed was a grand old man, "the grand old man of Maine," as Governor Gardiner called him.

It is probably true of Latin, as of any other study or experience, that what one gets out of it depends on what one brings to it. But there can be no question that, given the native will and taste required for its intelligent pursuit, the study of Latin imparts a discipline of mind and spirit to be derived from no other source. It has been the fashion of late years to deride this fact, to claim for a host of other studies more obviously and immediately "useful" the same properties. But this, we believe, is wishful thinking born of an impatient age. The precision and dignity of the language, combined with the richness and integrity of its literature, supply the intellect capable of absorbing it with a subconscious perspective which remains truest to fundamental values. The process of teaching it, of course (that is to say, of challenging the pupil to appreciate it as well as to learn it) simply intensifies this effect. And the proof of it is men like Dr. Taylor.

There is some indication that the flight from the classics in American education has run its course. Certainly the depression should be persuading our students and faculties alike that in the academic world, as elsewhere, the race has been overemphasizing doing at the expense of being, has too readily confused skill with cultivation. The example of Dr. Taylor's life and personality should help to drive home this lesson.

It is articles like these that give us renewed faith in our cause, courage to carry on, and ammunition with which to fight our battles.

You may be interested in what we are trying to do in the State of New York to vitalize the study and teaching of Latin. This can

best be illustrated, perhaps, by quoting from my *Letter to Latin Teachers*, No. 8, dated January 21, 1935, a sort of "pastoral" letter sent to all approved schools of the state by the State Education Department. I quote:

The following admirably written editorial, "Wells of Renewal," appeared over the signature "Uncle Dudley" in the *Boston Globe* of June, 1934. Whether "Uncle Dudley" is a single individual or a coalition, as some authorities consider Homer, is shrouded in mystery. Newspapers in any one of seven great cities would, we are sure, be glad to claim him. Fortunately, though he is anonymous, we have permission to reprint his discerning tribute to the value of classical studies at a time when such appreciation is sadly needed to offset a regrettable tendency toward a materialistic philosophy of education.

WELLS OF RENEWAL

"When thousands of high-school graduates in New York State, fresh from their graduation festivities, sat down this week under the alert gaze of proctors to try their arduously acquired knowledge on the Regents Board examinations for college entrance, they sustained something of a shock. Staring out at them from their Latin papers were the following questions:

"Name a reform of Gaius Gracchus similar to one that is now being advocated by President Roosevelt.

"Contrast Cicero's attitude toward the bankers (for instance, in the Manilian Law) to that of President Roosevelt toward certain bankers today.

"Give one of the possible titles that the Governor General of the Philippines might have had in ancient Rome.

"To what class of citizens in ancient Rome would each of the following belong: (a) a banker; (b) the keeper of a small grocery store?"

"The correct answers to these questions shall be left to the reader as a test of his power of memory, the efficiency of his schooling, and the acuteness of his perceptions of what the critics love to call 'the American scene.' In a much broader set of implications involved a more interesting point is raised.

"The New York State Regents Board decided not long ago to see to it that examinations of youth in classical studies should depart from the cut-and-dried procedure of yesterday. They determined to bring the candidates for higher education sharply up against the fact that this classical heritage of ours has a direct, useful, indestructible import and relationship to the present business of life.

"This frontal attack upon a common misprision of the richest legacy of our contemporary civilization has been long overdue, and it is heartening to find that academic institutions are bringing more and more emphasis to bear in the interests of the civilized mind. For Greek and Latin are 'dead' languages

only to such as know little and care less for the wealth of direction, suggestion, wisdom, and beauty they offer.

"There is, of course, nothing novel about the condition of neglect into which both have fallen of recent years; it is paralleled over and over again in the cultural story of the past fifteen centuries. Yet the classics have always come back in due time, to exercise powerful influence in the processes which have, from time to time, refined away the dross of ignorance, brutality, and blind egotism of later ages.

"They generated the revival of learning. They were the dynamos of the Renaissance. They provided the cultural base for the brilliant eighteenth century. They wove their magic spell over the nineteenth, in its noblest hours of creative productivity.

"If in an epoch of machine mass production and economic confusion without precedent (currently ascribed to man's failure to remain master of his inventions) they should once more undergo epiphany, the reasons would be exactly similar to those which revived them so many times before.

"For, essentially, the question is not one concerned with two ancient languages (spoken at Athens in the fifth century, and in Rome during a millennium) but of the rich and abundant cargoes with which those two great peoples of the antique world freighted them.

"They became, and remain, twin organ voices, hymning the message of the humanities to all generations that have followed; the wisdom, the experience, the adventure, the experiments, the achievements and the frustrations of two extraordinarily endowed peoples, one of whom builded reason and beauty to heights never attained since, the other of whom proffered statecraft, law, and the political institutions of human society a set of models to which man has inveterately turned for guidance with his ever-present social uncertainties.

"Both have dowered our language, and promoted that essential continuity of human attitudes which confirms the case for the real unity of human history—a unity that lodges in man himself, as a human being. Between them they have provided the measure for all subsequent thought and indicated the ways toward the accomplishments of our own times in science, the arts, literature.

"At an hour when the need is clamant for better perception of this continuity of effort and experience, when the liberal mind and the free inquiring spirit are so vitally necessary, it is well that these gifts and their relevancies be remembered.

(Signed)

'UNCLE DUDLEY.' "

Someone has said that he cared not who made the laws for America if he wrote the songs. In a similar vein your speaker once remarked that he cared not who wrote the Latin syllabuses if he

made the examinations. The preceding quotation has shown how examinations may be made a means of improving instruction. A possibly less effective means, but one more generally used, is illustrated by another "pastoral" letter to Latin Teachers issued by the speaker in April, 1933, which called attention to the opportunities of the Latin teacher in times of depression, when concepts of education were changing. I quote:

"CARPE DIEM"

Legend does not tell us whether or not King Midas was faced with a "depression" when he sought and received the gift of the "golden touch." At any rate there is some consolation in the thought that as he thirsted and starved in the midst of untold riches, he learned a lesson worth more than all his gold.

So too, in these days of starving in the midst of plenty, the American people and those responsible for the education of American youth are learning the fallacy of an education that prepares merely for a living but not for the fulness of life. That education has been cursed with too narrow specialization is a constantly recurring theme in contemporary periodical literature.

For teachers of Latin this prevalent feeling presents a real opportunity. Latin provides to an extraordinary degree the essentials of a broad and basic education for life in all its richness. Latin is not materialistic. It does not prepare for one special job which some new invention or machine may take away over night. Latin builds its educational program upon the bed-rock of general habits, traits, attitudes, appreciations, and culture. The material for a sound general education is inherent in the Latin. Here is a golden opportunity for teachers who can envision these objectives. *Carpe diem.*

In another part of one of the letters previously mentioned your speaker wrote a section entitled, *Some Don'ts for Teachers of Latin*, from which a portion is quoted here:

A negative or "don't" psychology is not ordinarily good pedagogy. For teachers, however, although it is somewhat unusual, it may be desirable at times because of its greater emphasis. It is used here to call attention to occasional lapses that have been observed frequently enough to make them noteworthy. Few teachers are guilty of many of the mistakes here noted, but many teachers are guilty of a few.

This may be considered a sort of self-rating scale. If you feel disturbed in any respect, won't you please do something about it?

Don't expect to find a "royal road" to Latin. Many have tried and failed. Don't claim that Latin will cure all diseases of body, mind, and soul, and

that it is a panacea for all present-day evils of the body politic. Be different. Let your motto be, *Dum tacet, dicit*. Actions speak louder than words, results than objectives, whether primary, secondary, or visionary.

Don't think that your subject is the only valuable one in the curriculum. Respect other subjects as you expect yours to be respected.

Don't forget that you cannot teach if you cannot discipline. You will not get a chance. The idle and the uninterested pupil is the one who causes all the trouble. Keep him busy and you have won half the battle.

Don't do too much class work yourself. It is your job to interest pupils and teach them how to work. Then see that they do.

Don't try to "sell" Latin to every pupil. If you do, let your sins be on your own head.

Don't glorify the mediocre. If Latin is worth doing, it is worth doing well. You have an obligation to the superior pupil, even in a democratic system of education. Democracy still needs leaders.

Don't wear a funereal mien in class. Latin is not as bad as all that. Latin is work, but good hard work can be fun.

Don't expect to coast along in your profession. Educational "free-wheeling" does not last long. A teacher needs new impetus just as a motor car does.

Don't overemphasize "methods" courses to the exclusion of courses in Latin. The first essential is to know your subject and then learn how to teach it.

Don't forget that interest is a means and not an end. If you are teaching children through the medium of Latin don't expect that Latin will last long as a high-school subject if you over-emphasize the non-Latin side of your work. Latin is justified only so long as Latin itself is the goal of instruction. If what you are teaching can best be taught in an English class, you are not teaching Latin.

Don't forget that pupils are more interested in persons than in things. Make the great characters of the past live again.

Don't neglect the interesting word derivations that appear every day to an alert teacher. They are fascinating.

Don't fail to contrast social, economic, and political conditions of the past with those of the present.

Don't neglect various extra-class activities as a means of interest. Don't overdo them, however.

Don't allow pupils to copy Latin composition sentences on the blackboard from prepared papers. There is no guarantee that this is their own work. It is what they have in their heads, not on their papers, that counts.

Don't allow pupils to recite forms, etc., haltingly. Have them recite rapidly. They either know such formal work or they don't. The same caution applies to vocabulary and other prepared formal work. This is the so-called "daisy method" in which the petals (pupils) are plucked rapidly—she knows it, she knows it not.

Don't fail to teach English grammar during the first year of Latin and don't complain because you have to. It is a big part of *your* job.

Don't teach the "hunt and find" method of translation. Teach the pupils to read and comprehend as the Romans did, holding the thought in suspense. A series of Latin words is a "still" picture until the verb at the end makes it into a "movie."

Don't fail to have the pupils read aloud before translating. This gives a "feeling" for the language.

Don't allow careless or inaccurate translations. Such habits are disastrous. All too frequently "extensive reading" is an excuse for slovenly reading. Such reading does not fulfill the primary objective of reading and comprehending Latin; this involves knowing *exactly* what the author meant.

Don't be ashamed to ask your pupils to "translate literally into idiomatic English." Such translation is hard but it is a "consummation devoutly to be wished." Don't let pupils make actives of passives or subjects of objects without strong reasons, or put last words first when an accurate translation would be idiomatic, retain the word emphasis, and make a far better translation all around.

Don't accept poor English just because your class is a Latin class and not an English class. If one of your objectives is to make Latin an aid to correct English, see that it does it.

These *Letters to Latin Teachers* were instituted in November, 1929, as a means of supervisory assistance to teachers of Latin in some 1200 schools varying in size from the smallest to schools with over 10,000 pupils. It would take years to make the rounds even once and to see the teachers individually. Consequently some other means of supervision had to be devised. These letters include administrative announcements, enrolment and examination statistics, apt quotations, and general suggestions.

As an example of statistics, teachers were this year informed that the total enrolment in Latin in the state last year was over 136,000 pupils out of a total enrolment of some 675,000. They were also informed of the state record in Regents examinations in Latin for last year, namely, that 77.7 per cent passed the Latin two-years new type ("all sight") examination, 76.6 per cent passed the Latin two-years old type (prescribed selections) examination, 87.7 per cent passed the Latin three-years examination (all "sight"), and 90.7 per cent passed the Latin fourth year examination (all "sight"). No Regents examinations are given until the comple-

tion of two years of Latin and the state does not recognize credit for one year of Latin, although schools give such credit toward local diplomas.

In summarizing these examination results gratification was expressed at the fact that, as usual, over 80 per cent of the pupils were successful in passing the state examinations. This appears to indicate fair examinations suited to the ability of the pupils. In the advanced years where greater selectivity obtains, results were eminently satisfactory.

Concern was expressed because the rate of increase in Latin, although it showed some gain, was still so much less than the rate of increase in total secondary school enrolment.

Some of our teachers, it is true, would profit by a more thorough knowledge of Latin and its methods. But that weakness can be and is being corrected.

The great trinity of qualifications essential to success in teaching is made up of personality, knowledge of subject-matter, and mastery of effective methods, these three, but the greatest of these is personality. Personality has no exact formula as a chemical compound has. It is a secret and individualistic compound including, among other components, ideals, imagination, interest, magnetism, vitality, energy, hard work, a spirit that age does not wither, and a sense of humor. To the teacher thus endowed, who also knows his subject and the accepted methods of presenting it to his classes, teaching is a life-long career of exploration and adventure, never commonplace, never routine, never drudgery.

A very real danger which we are now facing in New York State is the absolute prescription, for every high school pupil, of three subjects (English, science, and social studies) out of the four subjects which constitute a normal ninth grade program. If Latin is not begun in the ninth grade, we shall suffer very serious loss in enrolment and, in addition, fourth-year Latin will slowly disappear from the curriculum. These would be major calamities. One remedy would seem to consist in postponing algebra until the tenth grade. Another possibility, reluctantly contemplated, is the assignment of five subjects in the ninth grade to superior pupils.

One of our greatest weaknesses, for which we alone are responsi-

ble, has been the attempt to fight the enemy on ground of his own choosing, in other words, to make Latin easy. Here I wish to quote, both for comfort and for sane criticism, from Abbé Dimnet's splendid book, *The Art of Thinking*, beginning on page 64:

The extraordinary effort towards the diffusion of education seen everywhere in America is the vital reaction of a society feeling itself threatened in its essentials. But the resistance of the unwieldy mass, so far, is too great. The requirements of this mass still fashion the educational methods instead of the mass being fashioned by them, and no amount of testing, trying, or theorizing has, as yet, been able to change this preposterous situation. The mass wants easy methods, and so the methods are easy. It wants immediate practical results, and practicability is considered first.

Easy methods seem to be a dogma with Americanizers. Easy is the word one hears all the time in connection with the art of teaching. I wrote, a few years ago, a schoolbook which was published in New York under the title *French Grammar Made Clear*. The book has been misquoted, scores of times, as *French Grammar Made Easy*.

French grammar cannot be made easy. Nor can Latin grammar. It can be made, and ought to be made, clear and interesting. But no attempt at brightening it with Alma-Tadema pictures can conjure away the declensions, conjugations, and modes. The best psychology is to persuade the pupil that hundreds and thousands of not very intelligent people before him have conquered those dry beginnings by mere perseverance. In fact, little peasants trained for the priesthood by plain country curés who never dream of calling themselves scholars constantly master Latin morphology in three or four months. More than once I have seen the neighboring clergyman drop in during the lesson and play with the *petit latiniste* as the *Tuileries enchanteur* plays with the sparrows. Seldom does the red-faced little fellow miss a crumb of the cases or tenses slyly flung at him. No inferiority complex with regard to mere words has been planted in him. He does not think of his declensions as something difficult or something easy, but as something which everybody has to learn and does learn.

On the other hand, read the directions issued by the New York Board of Education² concerning the teaching of elementary Latin. The person who drew them up was evidently full of the notion that everybody must think Latin morphology as uninviting as the cuneiforms, and all that can be done is to take it in easy, i.e., minute, instalments. Several months are supposed to be necessary to master the first three declensions; then a long rest is given to the student as if to prepare him for a final and much worse spurt; then the last two declensions are tackled or, I should say, played with.

What psychological background is likely to be created by this nerveless

² The reference is undoubtedly to the *State Syllabus in Ancient Languages*.

method? Evidently a notion that the Latin declensions are a nightmare, but *dies* and *cornu* are more formidable than the other three. My own old teacher, who had no idea of any directions, but who possessed a tradition, said to us in perfect good faith: "*Dies* and *cornu* being simplicity itself, you shall learn these two declensions, instead of one, for the next time." The result was that even dunces were not afraid of the Latin declensions. Ask most American boys and girls who have gone through a classical course, and you will find that Latin morphology is as vague in their minds as badly taught Greek is in Europe. People in America remember being put through a book or two of Caesar, a book or two of Virgil, an oration or two of Cicero, but their idea of Latin as a language is that it is a university specialty, as Sanskrit appears to most people, i.e., something you are not expected to know. My surprise was great when I saw an American poet who shows no small pretensions to scholarship entitling one of his poems *Pueribus!* Such are the results produced by making Latin easy.

It will not be out of place at this point to quote a very recent tribute to Latin written by Professor George Santayana, renowned teacher of philosophy at Harvard, in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Boston Latin School, of which he is an alumnus. He writes:

To have existed for three hundred years, as things go, is remarkable; much more remarkable to have been constant, through those three hundred years, to one purpose and function. There may be older schools in other countries; but almost always they have suffered a complete change of spirit and have endured only by ceasing to be themselves. Even the neighboring Harvard College, one year younger than the Latin School, has undergone radical transformations, losing its original directive mission, and becoming a complex mirror of the complex society which it serves. But the Latin School, in its simpler sphere, has remained faithfully Latin. In spite of all revolutions and all the pressure of business and all the powerful influences inclining America to live in contemptuous ignorance of the rest of the world, and especially of the past, the Latin School, supported by the people of Boston, has kept the embers of traditional learning alive, at which the humblest rushlight might always be lighted; has kept the highway clear for every boy to the professions of theology, law, medicine, and teaching, and a window open to his mind from these times to all other times and from this place to all other places.

This fidelity to tradition, I am confident, has and will have its reward. The oldest forms of life, barring accidents, have the longest future. New ideas in their violence and new needs in their urgency pass like a storm; and then the old earth, scarred and enriched by those trials, finds itself still under the same sky, unscarred and pure as before. The Latin language and the study of

classic antiquity are the chief bonds for western nations with the humanities, with the normalities of human nature; and this not merely by transporting us, as in a vision, to some detached civilization—as Greek studies might do if taken alone—but by bringing us down step by step through all the vicissitudes of Christendom to our own age, and giving us a sound sense for the moral forces and the moral issues that now concern us. The merely modern man never knows what he is about. A Latin education, far from alienating us from our own world, teaches us to discern the amiable traits in it, and the genuine achievements; helping us, amid so many distracting problems, to preserve a certain balance and dignity of mind, together with a sane confidence in the future.

In conclusion, this paper has attempted to hold up the mirror before us as teachers of Latin, and to make us see ourselves as others see us. It has aimed to point out those parts of our line of defense which are strong and those which are vulnerable. It has sought to offer the reinforcements of suggestion to those hard pressed and to summon the aid of others to strengthen our own weak spots. The present changing conception of educational objectives, with emphasis upon breadth and all-round development instead of excessive training in purely utilitarian skills, has given us renewed confidence that Latin, like Rome, will be eternal in the service of mankind.

If we do our tasks well, we can face the future with the sublime confidence of the late great Justice of the Supreme Court, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who, on the occasion of a nation-wide radio tribute in his honor, closed his remarks by quoting the words of an ancient Latin author, "Death plucks me by the ear and says, 'Live! I am coming.'"

SOME UNIQUE COINS IN THE WULFING COLLECTION, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

By THOMAS SHEARER DUNCAN
Washington University

I

A UNIQUE DENARIUS

There is a series of coins, two specimens of which are shown here, that is interesting for two reasons: first, the appearance of the names of three moneyers on the coins, and, secondly, the varying form of the inscription in the exergue on the type. It belongs, probably, to the year 92 B.C., and its coins are all serrated. Five moneyers strike coins of the same type in the series and each moneyer is associated with two others whose names appear in the exergue of the coin.¹ The five are: M. Aurelius Scaurus, L. Porcius Licinus, L. Cosconius M. f., L. Pomponius Cn. f., C. Poblicius Malleolus C. f. The type shown here is that of L. Pomponius.

On the obverse of the coin is the head of Roma with x, the mark of value, behind; the inscription, in this case L. PO~~MP~~PONI·CNF, up from the right. On the reverse is represented Bituitus, king of the Arverni, in a biga to the right; in the exergue, the inscription, L·LIC·CN·DOM.

The *British Museum Catalogue*, in discussing the type (I, 186, n. 3) gives the following: "Zobel (*Ann. dell' Inst. Archeol.*, 1863, 56) says that all the denarii in the Spanish hoard had the letter D, in DOM, reversed. This, however, occurs only on one specimen in the British Museum." It seems that coins of the type are few.

¹ The coins are discussed by Mommsen, *Geschichte des röm. Münzwesens*: Berlin, Weidmann (1860), 574, and again in *Ann. dell' Instituto Archeol.* (1863), 55. Cf. *British Museum Catalogue* I, 198, and Babelon, I, 345.

Babelon (*Monn. de la Rép. Rom.*, 1, 360) merely notes as follows: "le D de DOM(itius) est quelquefois retourné, DOM."

Of this moneyer the Wulfin Collection at Washington University has three specimens. One is normal, another has CN·DOM, with the D reversed (Fig. 1), the other has the D reversed and O omitted (Fig. 2). No other coin is shown in the handbooks with the inscription like that on the coin of the Wulfin Collection, though it is likely that others exist.

II

COIN OF NERO—AN AS.

This coin has an irregularity of inscription. On the obverse is the bust of Nero, with head to right, laureate. The inscription is NERO CAESAR AVG GERM IMP. The reverse shows the Temple of Janus, with door to right. The inscription reads PACE P·R·VBIQ·PARTA IANM (*sic*) CLVSIT. (Fig. 3)

The bronze coins of this type are of the dates, A.D. 64–65, 65–66, 66–67. Undated coins (i.e., with the consulship not indicated) showing this reverse, probably belong to A.D. 65. Suetonius (*Nero* XIII, 2), after describing the reception of Tiridates in Rome by Nero—an event which fell in the middle of A.D. 66—adds: *ob quae imperator consalutatus, laurea in capitolium lata, Ianum geminum clausit, tam nullo quam residuo bello* (there being little or no war left). Suetonius assigns the closing to A.D. 66, yet the coins attest it as early as A.D. 64.²

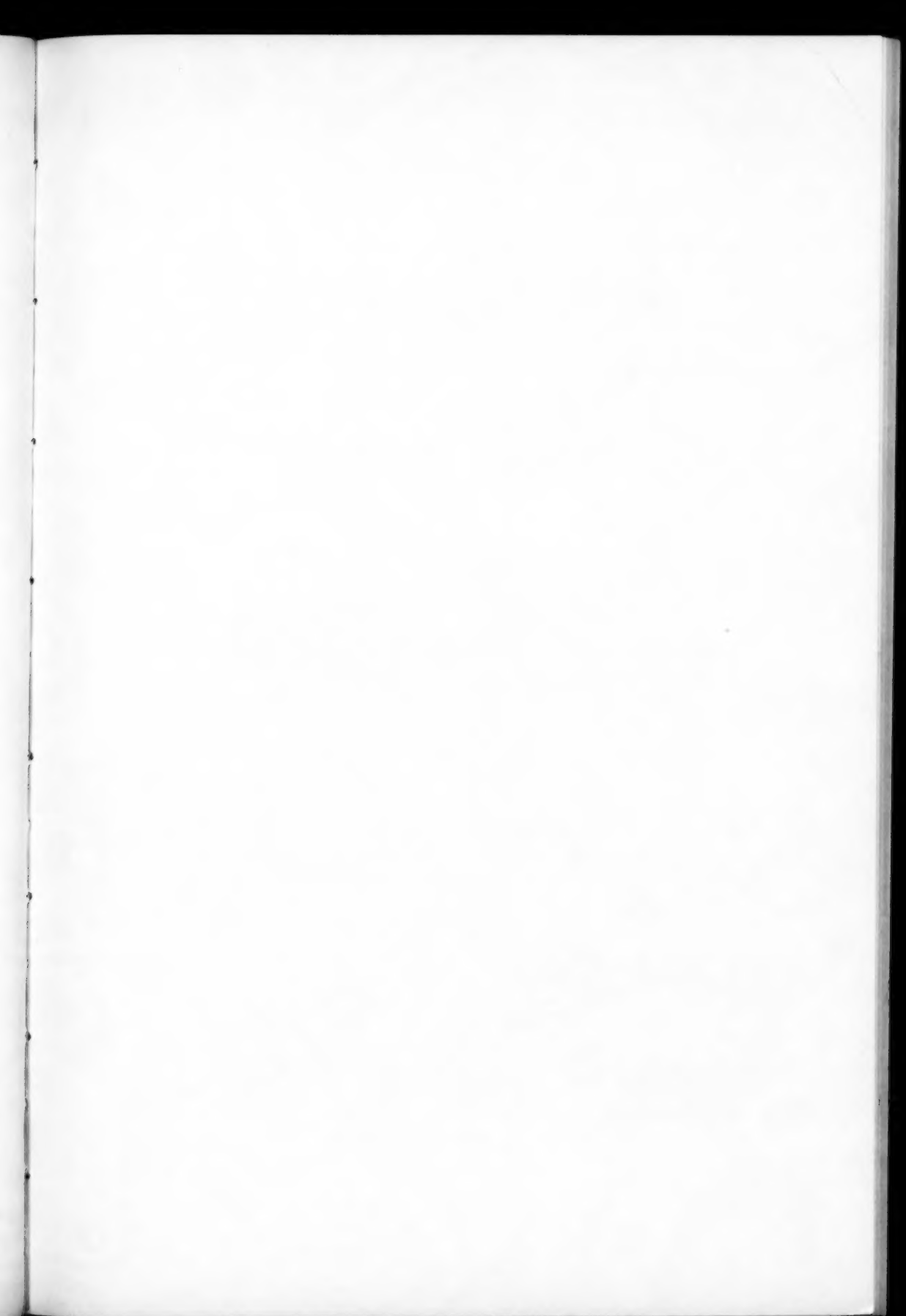
In the *British Museum Catalogue* (*passim*) variations of the inscription are cited, e.g., VBIQV. or VBIQUE, but nowhere is the spelling IANM noted. Two sale catalogues (*Basel*, 1934, and *Hirsch Cat.*, 1934) give illustrations of a similar type, one a large bronze and the other a smaller, but, in the accompanying description, no notice is taken of the peculiarity in the inscription, though coins with the word in full in the inscription appear along with the unique coin.

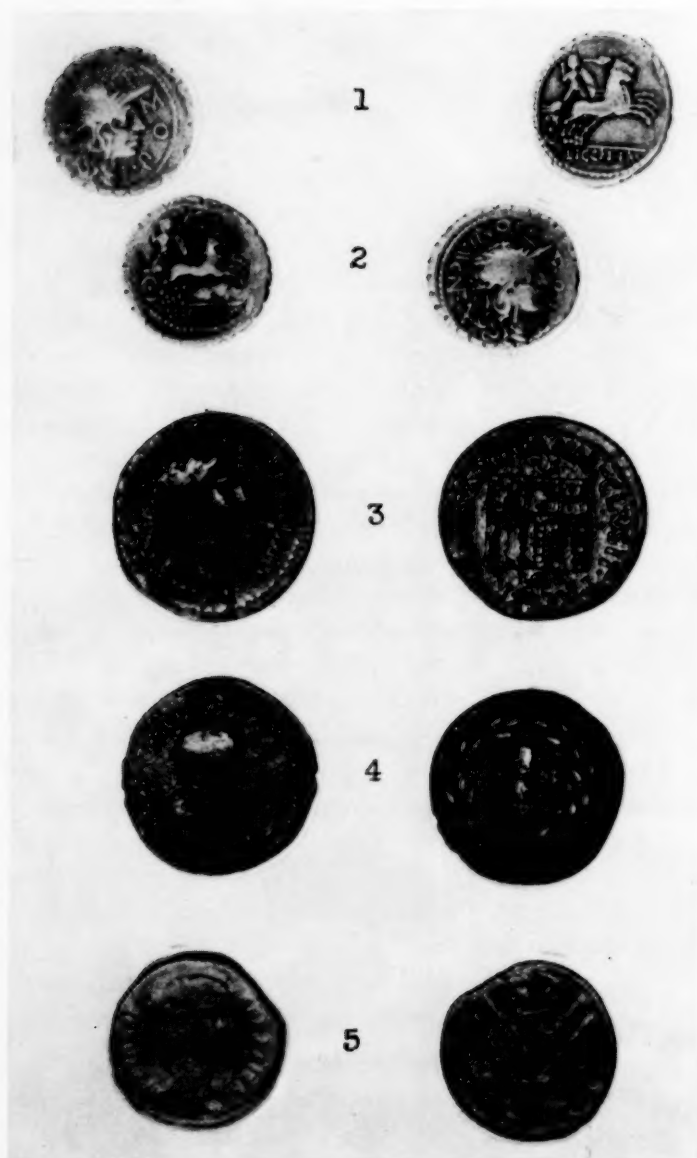
III

COIN OF POPPAEA SABINA

A rare coin of Poppaea Sabina shows some strange and interesting features. It is a bronze of middle size. On the obverse is the

² *British Museum Catalogue* I, CLXXIV.





bust of Poppaea, to right and laureate. The head is small and shapely and the hair hangs in a braid down the back of the neck. The inscription, from left to right, inward, reads ΠΟΠΗΑΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. There is a border of dots (Fig. 4).

The reverse shows a laurel wreath and, within, a flower, perhaps a lotus. On the left of the flower is Π, on the right Ε. (Cohen omits the Ε in his description.) A steel cut is shown in *Numismata Antiqua Imp. Rom. et Graec.* by Joh. Jacobus Gessner: Tiguri, ap. Casparum Fuesslinum, vol. II, which draws from an older work by Patin, *Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata ex aere mediae et minimae formae: Argentinae* (1671).

The coin is shown in the *Basel Sale Catalogue*, 1934. The object within the wreath is described as the head adornment of Isis, and the coin is assigned to Perinthus (*British Museum Catalogue*, 15). The inscription Π, noted in Cohen, would bear out that attribution. In addition the Wulffing Collection coin has Ε in the field to right.

The article on "Isis" in Daremberg et Saglio calls her head ornament a lotus flower. Roscher also³ cites the lotus as a head ornament of Isis and refers to Imhoof-Blumer (*Monnaies grecques*: Paris, C. Rollin et Feuwardent [1883], 443, no. 25; Pl. 55). But in Imhoof the illustration (a coin of Phoenicia) only roughly resembles our coin.

A knowledge of Poppaea's interest in the worship of Isis might help one to decide on the interpretation of the reverse of the coin. It is rather strange that, in his list of the emperors on whose coins appear the symbols of Isis, Roscher does not mention Poppaea at all.

IV

COIN OF BRITANNICUS

This coin is a bronze of middle size. On the obverse is the head of Britannicus, bare, to right. The inscription, in Greek letters, reads, ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. The reverse shows four ears of grain bound up (two on each side) with a winged caduceus. Letters in the field appear to be Λ Ρ. (Fig. 5).

³ Vol. II, part 1, col. 374, "Isis, Auserägyptische Kulte," by W. Drexler.

A coin in the Hunterian Collection shows the type of the reverse.⁴ It is one of Claudius, struck in Alexandria. This gives a key, but the search for an exact likeness, so far, has proved futile.

Coins of Britannicus are known to have been struck in small bronze at Assus, Ilium, Judaea; in middle bronze at Thessalonica. These show the same head and the same inscription, but have a different reverse, e.g. head of Nero or Claudius. Another coin of Nicomedia, Bithynia, shows on the reverse the prow of a ship, to left.

The study of the coin, then, presents some difficulties. In the first place, no record is given anywhere of the type, though, if its existence had been known by Poole, the author of the *British Museum Catalogue, Alexandria*, it is reasonable to assume that he would have mentioned it. Again, the coin, though very like the Claudius coins of the same type in size and general design, as well as in general texture, yet presents difficulties on the reverse. The caduceus—especially is this true of the heads of the serpents—is not so clearly cut. The letters, hardly legible, may be L R. The coin would then be struck in the same year as the Claudius coin.

The obverse, on the other hand, does not arouse suspicions. The head is well done, the letters are natural, and the wear of the coin seems normal.

The Britannicus coin weighs 6.72 gr., and the Claudius coin, 9.10 gr.

⁴ *Hunterian Collection*, III, p. 409, no. 51; pl. LXXXV, 12. Cf. *British Museum Catalogue, Alexandria*, p. 12, no. 99.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

TWO TACITEAN PARALLELS TO THE PRESENT DAY

Once more recent events have strikingly confirmed the universality of human experience and the great similarity between the conditions existing in the first century A.D. and those of our own age.

In December, 1935, the newspapers of America carried accounts of the voluntary exile of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh and his family undertaken because of the prevalence of kidnaping in this country, and in part, some writers alleged, because of the attitude of the governor of New Jersey toward the Hauptmann case. With this compare the speech of Piso as reported by Tacitus, *Annales* II, 34 (A.D. 16):

Inter quae L. Piso ambitum fori, corrupta iudicia, saevitiam oratorum accusationes minitantium increpans, abire se et cedere urbe, victurum in aliquo abdito et longinquo rure testabatur; simul curiam relinquebat.

We have, to be sure, in this country, at least, no *delatores*; but we have our gangsters, racketeers, and kidnapers.

The second parallel is to be found in the account of the remarkable plea of Marcus Hortalus, a grandson of the great orator Hortensius of Cicero's day, in which he asked Tiberius to give him financial aid for the rearing of his children whom he had, he strangely says, solely because the Emperor Augustus had commanded him to marry and continue his family name. Tiberius' negative reply to this request contains several of the typical ideas to be found in most conservative arguments against the distribution of federal aid to the unemployed (*Annales* II, 38):

Si quantum pauperum est venire huc et liberis suis petere pecunias coeperint,

singuli numquam exsatiabuntur, res publica deficiet . . . Aerarium . . . si ambitione exhauserimus, per scelera supplendum erit . . . Languescet alioqui industria, intendetur socordia, si nullus ex se metus aut spes; et securi omnes aliena subsidia expectabunt, sibi ignavi, nobis graves.

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CEDANT ARMA TOGAE

The "probably intentional" echo of Cicero's ill-fated line *O fortunatam natam me consule Romam* in Horace's *Epistles* II, 1, 256 was pointed out some years ago by M. T. Tatham in *Classical Review* XXXIX (1925), 71. It seems to me not unlikely that the associated verse from the same *De Consulatu Meo*,

Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi,¹

which also won the dispraise of Cicero's critics (cf. Quintilian XI, 1, 24), is reflected in the words of another Augustan poet, viz. Ovid, who in his *Amores* I, 15, 33 f. writes:

Cedant carminibus reges regumque triumphi,
cedat et auriferi ripa benigna Tagi.

The use of the line by the elder Pliny (*N. H.* VII, 30, 117), its obvious borrowing by the author of the *Laus Pisonis* (35 f.),² and the possible allusion to it by Juvenal in his eighth Satire (240-244) have all previously been remarked. These instances together would suggest that this one verse received at times more sympathetic treatment than fell to the lot of its hapless companion in notoriety.

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ISAEUS' VOCABULARY

In the course of a detailed and minute study of Isaeus the writer was impressed by an apparent sparsity in the vocabulary of this

¹ Cf. *De Officiis* I, 22, 77; *In Pisonem* I, 30, 74; *Philippicae* II, 8, 20.

² Cited by Ernst Koch, *Ciceronis Carmina Historica Restituta atque Narrata*: Greifswald, Abel (1922), 44.

Attic orator. Naturally the vocabulary of any writer will be conditioned largely by the theme of his works, and Isaeus' twelve extant speeches are not only of the same type and on the same general subject, but concerned with a subject which does not offer opportunity for overmuch elaboration in diction. Still, such is Isaeus' penchant for repetition of a fact or argument by which he wishes to fix fast the conviction of his hearers that it is difficult to imagine that in any case his vocabulary would have been much enlarged.¹ Isaeus, the most practical and businesslike of the orators, seems never to say anything in a different manner, if he can repeat it in the very way in which he has just said it. By using the indexes, I have found the vocabularies of the orators, with the exception of Hyperides, to be as follows:²

	<i>Words</i>	<i>Teubner pp.</i>	<i>Average per page</i>
Antiphon	1650	200	8.25
Andocides	1800	100	18
Lysias	3200	250	13
Isocrates	3400	500	6.8
Isaeus	1900	185	10
Dinarchus	1575	90	17
Lycurgus	1500	60	25
Aeschines	3000	300	10
Demosthenes	5300	1320	4

While a comparison of number of pages and words will contribute to an equalizing proportion which should be borne in mind, it is obvious that, below and above a certain point, the proportion does not apply, and that it is, in any case, general, and useful for large disparities only. Thus it is clear that Andocides' vocabulary is rather large, while a general enlargement of oratorical vocabulary is visible in the chronological development of oratory. The large vocabularies of Dinarchus and Lycurgus are thus to be noted. Very noticeable is the disparity of the vocabularies of Lysias and Isaeus, for which the disparity in amount of material cannot account. In both, however, the simplicity of diction contributes to the *ἀφελεια* of style which is characteristic. A possible cause and

¹ Cf. R. C. Jebb, *The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus*: London, Macmillan and Co. (1876), II, 296.

² The number of words and pages is approximate.

explanation may be found in the former's large use of the figures of language and the latter's greater use of the figures of thought, and the narrower range of syntactical constructions which obtains in Isaeus.³ This statement agrees generally, also, with the conclusions of Lincke.⁴ The figures cited above do not afford a complete impression of Isaeus' faulty diction. Many words he uses only once, and many endlessly, with consequent injury to the effect of his style.⁵ It is fair to say, however, that such iteration is probably far more noticeable in reading the speeches than in the oral delivery which Isaeus doubtless had uppermost in mind.

HAROLD WM. MILLER

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
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SUBSIDIZATION OF ATHLETES

Although any student of antiquity can inform one that the ancients were surprisingly advanced (in that they had fountain pens and so forth), it is somewhat shocking to discover that the Greek cities were the equal of modern football coaches in stealing promising athletes from each other. The halo cast all too frequently around the Greeks, largely because of Periclean Athens, loses some of its radiance in such a discovery.

But listen to the traveler Pausanias, describing the statues of athletes set up at Olympia:¹

Dicon, the son of Callibrotus, won five foot races at Pytho, three at the Isthmian games, four at Nemea, one at Olympia in the race for boys besides two in the men's race. . . . When he was a boy he was proclaimed a native of Caulonia, as in fact he was. But afterwards he was bribed to proclaim himself a Syracusan.

And again:²

³ Cf. Allen Chester Johnson, *Comparative Study in Selected Chapters in the Syntax of Isaeus, Isocrates, and the Attic Psephismata Preceding 300 B.C.*: Athens, C. Meisner and N. Kargaduris (1911), 77.

⁴ Cf. E. M. Lincke, *De Elocutione Isaci*: Leipzig, Oswald Mutz (1884), 61.

⁵ Jebb, *op. cit.*, II, 274 and n., quotes the few unusual words occurring in the speeches of Isaeus.

¹ VI, 3, 11. Translation is that of the Loeb Classical Library edition.

² VI, 18, 6. Loeb Classical Library.

Sotades at the ninety-ninth Festival (384 B.C.) was victorious in the long race and proclaimed a Cretan, as in fact he was. But at the next Festival he made himself an Ephesian, being bribed to do so by the Ephesian people.

The same factors of human nature affected these cities then and the coach of today. As victories in the Olympian and other games became important distinctions to a Greek city, those cities which had the greatest desire to win became the least scrupulous about the means to obtain victories. Syracuse and the other Sicilian cities were perhaps the most energetic in this regard; cf. Pausanias VI, 2, 6; 4, 11; 3, 11; and 13, 1. In Pindar we can see the exaggerated value placed upon athletic prowess in Sicily under the Hieronic regime.

To pursue the story farther, the same results came in ancient Greece from this unscrupulous desire to win as are being shown today at the exhibition of the same desire. Already in the sixth century Xenophanes (Frag. 19) was exclaiming, "Why be so exultant over Olympic victories? They will not fill the warehouses of a city or improve its laws"; in the fifth century professionalism and the other evils of Greek athletics were appearing; and in the fourth century, from which at least one of Pausanias' examples of recruiting of athletes comes, the philosophical and literary opposition thereto was full grown; cf. Euripides, Frag. 282 N; and Plato, *Republic* III, 404 A.³

CHESTER G. STARR, JR.

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THE GREEK CART-HORSE

In the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXXI (1935), 109 f., H. M. Hubbell reviews the fifth volume of C. B. Gulick's *Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists* (Loeb Classical Library, now published by the Harvard University Press). In this review the observation is made, apropos of a certain translation of Professor Gulick's: "I doubt if ἵβριος means cart-horse. Did the Greeks ever use horses for rough, heavy

³ Bribery of judges and competitors was not unknown. For the references in this paragraph I am indebted to Reisch, s. v. "Athletai" in Pauly-Wissowa II, 2054.

work? To the best of my knowledge they were used only for racing, for war, or for drawing the chariots for their gentlemen owners, undoubtedly the meaning here."

The question raised is whether or not the ancient Greek horse was ever employed to draw the ordinary country-cart, a vehicle which it is usually easy to distinguish, in its representations, from the chariot by the structure of its wheel. The cart-wheel possesses normally a diametric plank with cross-pieces which support the felloe; the chariot-wheel is four-spoked. One seldom encounters any difficulty in differentiating the horse from the mule in Greek art.

Representations of the country-cart are not particularly numerous in Greek vase-paintings. In looking over the plates of some forty-five volumes of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, I have noticed but three illustrations. In these instances the draught animal is a mule.

In spite of all the additions that have been made, in the last generation, to our knowledge of Greek private life, the classic treatment of the cart is still found in the article, "The Country Cart of Ancient Greece," by Miss H. L. Lorimer, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxiii (1903), 132-151. Attention is here drawn to various examples of two-wheeled vehicles other than chariots. In at least four instances these are drawn by horses; and the sources of the illustrations seem to be undoubtedly of mainland Greek provenience. A fifth example, from the semi-Hellenic territory of Cyprus, is that of a terracotta model of a covered cart that is pulled by animals that are probably horses. There must also be observed the horse-drawn racing carts that appear on Panathenaic vases.

It would seem, then, that Professor Gulick has quite possibly rendered the ἵκρυος correctly by "cart-horse." In any case, it would be folly to insist on the splendid and majestic appearance of the ancient Greek horse. All the evidence that we possess goes to show that he was a little creature, an offshoot of the "tarpan" (*equus gmelini Antonius*) stock, sturdy and well-turned, but no taller than the poorly-fed ponies that one sees everywhere in Greece to-day. The true cavalry horse, as Tarn has shown, did not appear

in the west till Parthian times. Although the durability and docility of the mule rendered him an excellent draught animal, it is doubtful if a Greek would have felt any repugnance to hitching his steed to a cart or wagon.¹

A. D. FRASER

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

¹ In regard to the topic under discussion, the following recent studies in *Antiquity* are of particular interest: Hilzheimer, "The Evolution of the Domestic Horse," ix (1935), 133-139; Fox, "Sleds, Carts and Waggons," v (1931), 185-199; and Lane, "Waggons and their Ancestors," ix (1935), 140-150.

Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

J. HOLLAND ROSE, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World*: Cambridge, University Press (1933). Pp. xi+184. \$2.75.

Mr. Rose's attractive little book, *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World*, is really a recasting of ancient history with the Mediterranean in the foreground. No classical scholar can read this without receiving new light on even the well-known facts of ancient history.

Mr. Rose has divided his subject into six chapters. The first is an interesting account of the Mediterranean Sea as a body of navigable water. Following this introductory chapter the great struggles around the Mediterranean are treated briefly: first, Chapter II, the rivalry between the Greeks and the Phoenicians; Chapter III, the struggle between Carthage and Rome; Chapters IV and V, Roman supremacy in the western and the eastern Mediterranean; and Chapter VI, the Mediterranean Empire and its influence. Two brief notes are added, one to Chapter III on the Corvus, the device the Romans used for boarding enemy ships. The other, on references to the sea in Roman literature, is appended to Chapter VI. Three plans are added.

It has, of course, been a commonplace to writers of ancient history that the struggle for power centered around the Mediterranean Sea, but no author that I know of has so well emphasized the large part which the sea played in ancient history. Mr. Rose shows very clearly how the domination of the Mediterranean Sea and especially the control of the Bosphorus was essential to any great ancient empire. Almost every page contains a fresh state-

ment of some well-known fact. The reader wonders how he could have overlooked for so long the great part that this sea played especially in the economy of the Roman Empire. Mr. Rose very well says, (p. 120):

We hear very much about the influence of Roman roads in promoting Roman civilization; but the influence of Roman fleets in bringing about that miracle has been almost entirely ignored. Yet it is demonstrable that the Roman Empire depended quite as much on its fleets as on its roads.

He very aptly points out (p. 156, note) that few of those who have written Greek and Roman history pay very much attention to the navy:

But is it not clear that this small force could not have controlled and protected so vast an Empire but for the multiplying power of an invincible navy which held the interior and therefore shorter lines of the Mediterranean? Possible enemies were spread out on a vast oral circumference and could not act in concert. This strategic fact (not noticed, I believe, by any Roman historian) goes far to explain the seemingly miraculous control of Rome over Mediterranean peoples.

Mr. Rose is at his best in treating the Roman Empire, especially the later empire. He gives full credit to Pompey for his excellent work in suppressing the pirates (p. 142), though he doubts Pompey's ability to have completed the campaign in the brief time usually given. His remarks on the casual character of the expansion of the Roman Empire (p. 101) are pertinent. His discussion of St. Paul's shipwreck (p. 156) and his description of the Alexandrian corn ships are fascinating.

On the other hand I do not find his account of the Battle of Salamis (p. 62 ff.) very satisfactory. Most modern historians are right, I believe, in thinking that the Greek force was not arranged in a crescent across the Strait of Salamis, but that the Greeks advanced from behind the peninsula of Cynosura and struck the advancing Persian lines on the quarter. A curious mistake is made on page 63, where Mr. Rose states that Themistocles advised the Greeks "to fight backwardly." This advice was given by Themistocles, not to the Greeks in his own squadron, as Mr. Rose says, but to the Greeks who were serving with more or less reluctance under Xerxes (Herodotus VIII, 22).

LOUIS E. LORD

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A. S. HUNT AND C. C. EDGAR, *Select Papyri with an English Translation*, Volume I, Private Affairs (The Loeb Classical Library): London, Wm. Heinemann; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1930). Pp. xx+452. \$2.50.

This is the first of two volumes of papyri re-edited for the Loeb series. The second volume, which has just been announced, will complete the set with a selection from official papers. It is unnecessary to comment on the quality of the translation—both Hunt and Edgar are masters in the interpretation of Greek documents, and their versions are models of exactness. The text is, of course, sound. For the most part the documents included are complete, and changes in text from the first publications are not very numerous.

The selection, divided into fourteen groups ranging from contracts to horoscopes, covers all types of private documents. It includes many documents thoroughly familiar, but also a surprisingly large number that will be new to classical students. With one exception all of the pieces have been published before. It was to be expected that the Oxyrhynchus papyri would bulk large in this selection, but in view of the general accessibility of that series with its excellent translations and of the existence of many documents published without translation, it would have been helpful had the editors chosen somewhat more widely from other collections.

As usual, one is impressed with the ease with which one enters through the medium of the papyri into the intimate life of the ancients. From the famous marriage contract which opens the volume to the horoscope which closes it one ranges through a wide field of human activities. The stress is, of course, practical: contracts, with their careful statement of private rights, occupy about half the contents of the volume, and personal letters, with the disappointingly curt style of people too busy to write, come next. The human interest of these documents has been too often stressed to need repetition here.

A few minor matters suggest themselves. In number 15 ἑορτικῶν means "holiday presents" rather than "feast-days" and, a few lines below, "when the boy can write and read from prose of all

kinds without fault" would be more exactly phrased "when the boy can take fluently any kind of dictation and can read it back without making mistakes." In number 18 the ambiguous phrase διτομία καλαμίου έκάτερου instead of "the bisection of each of the two" should on the analogy of P. Oxy. 1631 be translated "the second cutting of reeds." The footnote on page 24 is misleading: the month mentioned in the text is *Germaniceus*, but the scribe misspells it, and the translation omits the name Germanicus from the imperial titles.

The citation of such minor slips serves to indicate the accuracy of the rest of the work. The student may be assured that he has before him not merely an excellent text but a thoroughly competent translation.

When the Loeb Classical Library was transferred to the Harvard University Press, it was to be hoped that the price of these admirable volumes would be reduced to a point where it would fit the average purse. Given wider distribution, this series might become our most effective instrument for the spread of interest in classical studies. Because of the price barrier no practical use can be made of the volumes as textbooks. It would seem that an endowed series, with an assured sale arising from the lack of competition in English-speaking countries, should by some means be made more generally available. I understand however that the Harvard Press intends to make no change in policy. It is a great pity.

CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR.

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EDGAR H. STURTEVANT, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, (William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series): Philadelphia, the Linguistic Society of America for Yale University (1933). Pp. 314.

Every classical scholar who makes any pretense to knowing his comparative Indo-European grammar should read this book to enlarge his horizons, to increase his knowledge of comparative material, and to gather increased light on some doubtful points. The

author posits an Indo-Hittite which was the parent of Hittite and Indo-European, and his derivations and relationships are very logically developed from this hypothesis. Some of the more interesting points discussed where Hittite has clarified our Indo-European comparative grammar are as follows: The Hittite *wemiyezi* "comes upon," "finds" and the Lat. *venio* "come" show an Indo-Hittite *gwemyo/e-* with a full grade vowel, and the previously assumed phonetic law that IE *amy* (on the basis of one example, Gr. *βαίω*) > Lat. *eni* is shown to be false (p. 122). Actual Hittite forms are quotable to show that "two dental stops in immediate contact developed a sibilant between them, yielding *tšt*." The root *et-* "et" plus the 3s. primary ending *-ti* becomes *etstsi* (written *ezzi*). The root *mat-* "endure" plus the 3s. secondary ending *-t* becomes *matst* (written *mazt*) (p. 129). An interesting explanation is made of Skt. *mukhatas* "from the mouth," Lat. *funditus* "from the bottom," and Gr. *ἐκτός* "outside" as containing the full grade of the IH and IE suffix *-tos* which appears in zero grade as the ending of the Hittite abl. s. *-ts* (written *-z*) (pp. 172f.). In pre-IH final *-ts* lost *s* before a word beginning with *s*, and thus were developed the *o*-stem ablatives (Skt. *devāt*, OLat. *dōnōd*). Under the other sandhi conditions, final *-ts* became *-s* in IE, and this fell in with the genitives in *-s* (pp. 172f.). New light is thrown on the nominative plural of *u*-stems (pp. 176f.). Hittite seems to show that the pronominal element *sme/smi*, which has heretofore been called a particle, was in IH a pronoun meaning both "vos" and "is, id" (pp. 194f.). A new origin for IE *to-* is discussed (p. 199). That the relative use of the stem *kwe/o-* began in IH is shown by several agreements in detail between Hittite and early Italic (p. 203). There is an interesting discussion of verbal prefixes (pp. 213f.) and Brugmann's conjecture regarding the compositeness of the Indo-Iranian imperative ending *-tu* is confirmed (p. 261). Medio-passive elements *-ri* and *-ru* throw new light on the Italic and Celtic passive forms in *-r* (p. 262).

The book is equipped with a list of abbreviations that will serve as a fairly good bibliography and with full indices of Hittite, Sanskrit, Iranian, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Oscan and Umbrian, Celtic, Old Norse, Gothic, West Germanic, Baltic, Slavic, and Tocharian

words referred to. Another excellent feature is the fact that throughout the book practically all Hittite words are written both phonetically and in exact transliteration of the cuneiform. The reader will also find abundant references in footnotes to Sturtevant's previous writings and to the writings of the other leading Hittitologists. The typographical make-up of the book is very good, but a few slips were not caught in proofreading. The work is definitely of a pioneering nature, the only other book of like nature being Marstrand's *Caractère Indo-Européen de la Langue Hittite* (Christiania, 1919), which for some time now has been out of date. Professor Sturtevant is to be thanked for the great pains he has taken to make available such a wealth of material carefully arranged with great linguistic insight. We are promised a second volume (in collaboration with Professor E. Adelaide Hahn), on the indeclinable words and the syntax, and a third volume with transliteration, translation, commentary, and vocabulary (a volume much needed in English for beginners).

JONAH W. D. SKILES

LOUISVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A. L. IRVINE, *Cicero's Correspondence*: Cambridge, University Press; New York, The Macmillan Company (1933). Pp. xx+272. \$1.35.

This book, one of the Pitt Press Series, contains eighty-five letters—129 pages of text, followed by helpful notes, several short biographical sketches, and two brief indexes. One-fourth of the letters in the collection are from Cicero's correspondents. The selections cover the period from 62 to 43 B.C. The letters are arranged chronologically, and, with the information given in the historical summaries of the important events of each year, they present a coherent history of the period.

One dislikes to make trivial criticisms of so excellent a book, but there are a number of items in the notes which raise doubts in the mind of the reviewer. In some instances a suggested translation is an English colloquialism, offered as an appropriate substitute for the meaning expressed by the Latin; e.g., *cantilenam* (p.

247), "hot air"; *lentius* (p. 139), "thick-skinned"; *frigere te* (p. 168), "you are hard up"; *absurde et aspere* (p. 172), "rude and uncalled for." In some instances brevity makes a note unintelligible; e.g., "*parabat*, epistolary" (p. 188); "*ut timeam*, *ut* is explanatory" (p. 247). If the student can get the meaning of such notes by examining the Latin text, the note is superfluous. Some notes presuppose a knowledge of French on the part of the student (p. 209). On page 191 a note reads, "see map," but there are no maps or illustrations of any kind in the book. One is surprised to read on page 190 that "No letters subsequent to that date [June, 49 B.C.] have survived." The statement (p. 190) that "Lepidus . . . was in charge of Rome" omits the essential fact that Lepidus was praetor. The history of the calendar is not quite so simple as Irvine represents it on page 213. On page 198 *medius fidius* has the first vowel erroneously marked short. On page 168 the date of the death of Clodius is incorrectly stated, but it is correctly given on page 261. The death of Tullia could not have been later than the middle of February; but Irvine twice (pp. 213 and 255) states that it occurred in March. There is a serious blemish in the intolerable "English" used in the note on page 193, "as if it was." If the book were not otherwise a superior work, such a provincial solecism would be enough to condemn it utterly. Another serious fault of the book is in the omission of the Latin salutation at the head of each Letter. Notwithstanding the mooted question of the authenticity of some of them, the various forms of salutation as given in the manuscripts are significant and important for the understanding of the letters; and they contribute not a little to our knowledge of Roman private life. With two exceptions these salutations are entirely omitted from the book.

In selecting the letters for this edition Irvine has maintained a balance between the social and political aspects of Cicero's life. In the commentary he helps the modern reader to get a sense of the literary quality of the letters and to see them in an appropriate historical background.

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G. T. GRIFFITH, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge, at the University Press: New York, The Macmillan Co. (1935). Pp. x+340. \$5.50.

This work completes the history of Greek mercenaries treated in part by H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers—from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Ipsus*, Oxford (1933). The first two chapters of the present book cover the Macedonian period down to Ipsus and thus duplicate somewhat Parke's work.

One seldom sees a work as thorough, scholarly, and accurate as the one under review. The wealth of material is amazing and it is handled with a sure touch and a mature judgment. In fact, I should pronounce the book a great achievement. Most of the work is military history, of course, but there are very important materials for political, social, and economic history on every page. Moreover, the last two chapters, on "Provenance and Recruiting," and "Pay and Maintenance," are absolutely fundamental for an understanding of economic and social life in the period. There is an index of technical terms and a general index, the latter including, unfortunately, only proper names.

The results of the work cannot be fully summarized here. Suffice to say that the hey-day of the mercenary was the last quarter of the fourth century and probably the first quarter of the third. After a period of decline, the hired soldier reappears prominently again later.

THOMAS A. BRADY

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Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Berkeley Institute, 181 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, New York. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

A Roman Calendar

MENSIS APRILIS (from *aperire*)

- 1 KALENDAE APRILES 281 B.C. Q. Marcius triumphed over the Etruscans.
253 B.C. C. Sempronius triumphed over the Carthaginians.
234 B.C. Sp. Carvilius triumphed over the Sardinians.
A.D. 286. Maximian was given the title of Augustus by Diocletian.

2 A.D. IV NON. APR.

3 A.D. III NON. APR.

Natalis dei Quirini.

503 B.C. P. Postumius triumphed over the Sabines.

4 PRIDIE NON. APR.

Megalesia. Festival in honor of *Magna Mater*, whose sacred stone had been brought from Phrygia and deposited in the temple of Victory on the Palatine on April 4, 204 B.C. *Ludi Megalesiaci* were celebrated from April 4 to April 10.

503 B.C. Agrippa Menenius triumphed over the Sabines.

A.D. 188. Caracalla was born at Lyons (*Lugdunum*).

5 NON. APR.

6 A.D. VIII ID. APR.

56 B.C. Cicero's daughter Tullia was formally betrothed to her second husband, Furius Crassipes.

46 B.C. Caesar defeated the senatorial forces and their ally, King Juba of Numidia, at Thapsus.

- 7 A.D. VII ID. APR. 58 B.C. Cicero was at Thurii on his way into exile.
 8 A.D. VI ID. APR. **Natalis Castoris et Pollucis.**
 52 B.C. Cicero spoke in defense of Milo.
 A.D. 217. Caracalla was murdered at Carrhae.
- 9 A.D. V ID. APR.
 10 A.D. IV ID. APR. 190 B.C. The temple of *Magna Mater* on the Palatine was dedicated.
 On this day the oracle of the great temple of *Fortuna Primigenia* (the most renowned in Italy) at Praeneste was open to suppliants.
 A.D. 146. Septimius Severus was born at Lepcis Magna in Africa.
- 11 A.D. III ID. APR. 45 B.C. The head of Pompey's elder son, Gnaeus; was brought to Caesar at Seville (*Hispalis*).
 252 B.C. C. Aurelius triumphed over the Carthaginians and Sicilians.
 58 B.C. The day on which Caesar said the Helvetians were to return for his decision as to whether he would let them march through the Province.
- 12 PRIDIE ID. APR.
 13 IDUS APRILES
- 14 A.D. XVIII KAL. MAI.
 15 A.D. XVII KAL. MAI. **Fordicidia.** The first festival of the year for the *curiae*, and the first ceremony of the year in which the Vestals took an active part.
 46 B.C. Cato committed suicide at Utica.
 A.D. 69. Otho committed suicide in his tent at Brixellum.
- 16 A.D. XVI KAL. MAI.
 17 A.D. XV KAL. MAI.
 18 A.D. XIV KAL. MAI. 58 B.C. Cicero was in the territory of Tarentum on his way into exile.
 A.D. 359. Gratian was born at Sirmium in Pannonia.
- 19 A.D. XIII KAL. MAI. **Cerealia.** Festival in honor of Ceres. The first temple to Ceres was founded on this day in 496 B.C., and dedicated to Ceres, Liber, and Libera because of a famine, in obedience to the Sibylline oracle. From 202 B.C. on, *Ludi Cereales* were celebrated from April 12 to April 19.
- 20 A.D. XII KAL. MAI. 45 B.C. The news of the battle of Munda, which had been fought more than a month before, reached Rome.
- 21 A.D. XI KAL. MAI. **Parilia.** Festival in honor of the ancient shepherds' deity, Pales.
Natalis Urbis Romae.

- 43 B.C. Cicero delivered his Fourteenth Philippic in the senate.
 43 B.C. Antony was defeated by Octavian and Hirtius at Mutina.
- 22 A.D. X KAL. MAI.
 23 A.D. IX KAL. MAI. **Vinalia Priora.** Libations of wine were made to Jupiter.
 181 B.C. The temple of *Venus Erycina* was founded.
 24 A.D. VIII KAL. MAI. 26 B.C. Tiberius assumed the *toga virilis*.
 25 A.D. VII KAL. MAI. **Robigalia.** Sacrifice was offered to *Robigus*, the spirit which presides over the red rust or mildew which attacks cereals.
 26 A.D. VI KAL. MAI. A.D. 121. Marcus Aurelius was born at Rome.
 27 A.D. V KAL. MAI. 33(?) B.C. L. Marcius Philippus celebrated a triumph because of a victory won in Spain.
 28 A.D. IV KAL. MAI. **Floralia.** The festival and games were established in 238 B.C. on the advice of the Sibylline books because of a famine. A temple near the Circus Maximus was dedicated to Flora at the same time. The games were later extended to May 3.
 A.D. 32. Otho was born.
- 29 A.D. III KAL. MAI.
 30 PRIDIE KAL. MAI. 58 B.C. Cicero had got as far as Tarentum on his way into exile.
- Feriae Latinae.** This great pan-Latin festival was held on the Alban Mount under the direct supervision of Rome. The exact date was fixed and announced by the Roman consuls on their entrance into office.
 56 B.C. Early in this month Cicero defended M. Caelius Rufus.
 56 B.C. Sometime after April 11 Caesar held his famous conference with Pompey and Crassus at Luca.
 A.D. 65. Piso organized an unsuccessful conspiracy against Nero.
 A.D. 276. Tacitus the emperor died or was murdered in Cappadocia.

Suggestions for Using the Month's Calendar

Pupils may:

Make for the bulletin board a large poster which reads: "On This Day" or something similar. Various pupils may mount below this in larger form than the space in this department permits, the events of each day.

Make posters illustrating some phase of each of the religious festivals of the month.

Give oral reports in class or club on each of the festivals.

Occasionally perform some one of the ceremonies in a class or club period.

Make posters in honor of some of the triumphs or anniversaries.

Devote a club program or part of a class period to a party in honor of the birthday of some of the especially well-known figures.

Read short selections in English from some one of Cicero's speeches on the anniversary of its delivery.

Latin Constitution for the Latin Club

An English translation of the club constitution written in Latin by John K. Colby for the Latin club of the Country Day School for Boys, Newton, Massachusetts, and printed in the March issue of the JOURNAL, may be secured by sending \$.03 and a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the editor of this department.

Songs

The Lucretine Palaces, a translation of Horace's *Ode* II, 15 by Allen E. Woodall, has been set to music by Julia B. Wood and Walter Stoffregen. It may be secured from the Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, New York University, Washington Square East, New York, for \$.20 per copy or \$.15 per copy for five or more, postpaid.

Two songs, *Today Is Monday* and *The More We Get Together*, have been translated into Latin by Mabel J. Mather, of Junior-Senior High School, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, for use in Latin clubs and classes. A mimeographed copy of the words may be obtained by sending to the author a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Word Order

William T. White, of North Brookfield High School, North Brookfield, Massachusetts, suggests a simple device for giving beginning pupils practice in the normal word order of a Latin sentence.

Write each word of a Latin sentence on a separate square of cardboard. Do the same with as many sentences as there are pupils in the class. Place all the pieces of one complete sentence into a small envelope (Mr. White secured from a local bank a box of manila pay envelopes 3" x 5"). In class, each pupil chooses an envelope, removes the squares, and puts the words together in the proper order. Translation of the completed sentences may also be included in the game.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John B. Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., or to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Horace Papers

Dean Andrew F. West of Princeton University contributed an interesting paper on "The Genius of Horace" to *The American Scholar*, v (1936), 64-71.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for March appears the paper which Miss Agnes Replier read in November before the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

Maryland

The Enoch Pratt Free Library, of BALTIMORE, has prepared an excellent exhibit in celebration of the *Bimillennium Horatianum*, which differs from others in that the central feature consists of nineteen-inch casts of the obverse and reverse of a Horace portrait medallion by Mr. William Marks Simpson, formerly Fellow in the American Academy in Rome, and now Director of the Rinehart School of Sculpture in Baltimore.

In the lack of authentic portraits of Horace Mr. Simpson, with the assistance of Mr. Richard H. Hart, of the staff of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, made a thorough study of all the important gems and medallions which purport to be portraits of Horace, and gathered together all that Horace says of his own personal appearance. "In his final design," however, "Mr. Simpson, who is himself a lover of Horace, was influenced by the character

and temperament of the poet, which shines so clearly through all his work. The profile, as seen on the finished medallion, suggests irony, kindness, and a sense of physical well-being that comes with moderation in work and in pleasure. The obverse of the medal bears the inscription, *Exegi monumentum aere perennius*. The reverse shows a symbolic conception of the Bandusian spring, with the inscription, *O fons Bandusiae splendidior vitro*."

The exhibit also includes Mr. Thomas Price's model of Horace's Sabine villa and other interesting *Horatiana*.

New York

The Horace dinner, held in NEW YORK CITY, December 26, in conjunction with the meeting of the American Philological Association, the Archaeological Institute, and the Linguistic Society, was attended by 147, Roy C. Flickinger presiding as general chairman of the Celebration. All national chairmen who were present participated in the toast program. Dr. John H. Finley, of the *New York Times*, was also present and spoke. Miss Alice J. Fairbanks, of Passaic, New Jersey, showed moving pictures of the Horace trips in Italy and Greece last summer. Dr. Dorothy M. Robathan, as chairman of the committee on the University of Cincinnati Prize, announced that this prize of \$1000 had been awarded to Miss Jean Holzworth, a senior in Bryn Mawr College. The jury in charge consisted of C. E. Bennett, of Amherst College, Roy J. Deferrari, of the Catholic University of America, and Mary A. Grant, of the University of Kansas. The decision as to first place was unanimous.

The new chairman of the Advisory Council for the American Academy in Rome is B. L. Ullman, of the University of Chicago, with Russel M. Geer, of Brown University as secretary.

Ohio

On Sunday evening, January 19, at the usual weekly assembly, WESTERN RESERVE ACADEMY, of Hudson, paid tribute to Horace. The Academy octet sang *Integer Vitae*, and Mr. Harlan R. Parker, instructor in Latin in the Academy, gave a talk upon the topic, "Why a Latin Poet Born Two Thousand Years Ago Lives Today."

Pennsylvania

On December 6 *Phi Pi*, the classical club of PENNSYLVANIA COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, at Pittsburgh, presented a chapel program in honor of Horace. Miss Margaret R. Hipple, president of the club, gave an account of the life and poetry of Horace, and other members presented the dramatization of Horace's satire on the *Bore* which was prepared for the Classical League.

Tennessee

At Nashville on the evening of December 6 and on Saturday morning, December 7, 1935, the friends of Horace gathered for a general celebration, organized by the state director, Dr. Nellie Angel Smith, of the State Teachers

College at Memphis, following the state-wide translation contests in high schools and colleges last spring. The two programs were presided over by Dr. Charles E. Little, of the George Peabody College for Teachers.

The evening celebration began with a banquet for nearly ninety guests, ranging from high-school seniors to gray-haired professors. Dr. Little poured a libation and made the invocation, after which Dr. Clyde Pharr, of Vanderbilt University, acted as toastmaster. Following the menu of the usual Roman food the guests were entertained by Horatian plays and songs.

A quartet from the State Teachers College at Memphis sang the words of *Carm.* I, 22; III, 9 and 13 to the musical settings of Gow and Coutts (Oxford University Press), transposed for parts by Mr. Packard. A group of young ladies from the Tennessee College at Murfreesboro, under the direction of Professor Isabelle Johnson, gave some songs and dramatizations in costume. Cf. CLASSICAL JOURNAL, XXXI, 334.

The principal speaker on the second day of the celebration was President John O. Moseley, of the State Teachers College, Edmond, Oklahoma. At the conclusion of his address he presented to the Tennessee Philological Society leaves of ivy from Horace's Sabine villa, the gift of the Italian Government. Cf. CLASSICAL JOURNAL, XXXI, 268.

Connecticut Latin Contest

A state Latin contest is now being held in Connecticut under the auspices of the Connecticut group of the New England Classical Association. Preliminary trials are being held in the high schools of the state, which will culminate in a final contest to be held at the Hartford Public High School on May 1, 1936. The members of the state committee are: Dr. Harry Alan Cohen, of Norwich, chairman; Miss Anna T. Doyle, of Meriden; Miss Frances T. Nejako, of Middletown; and Carleton M. Allen, of Hartford. An advisory committee consisting of Professor L. C. Barret, of Trinity; Professor Harry M. Hubbell, of Yale; Dean Irene Nye, of the Connecticut College for Women; and Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., of Wesleyan, is coöperating with the contest committee.

Iowa City

It is interesting to note that Professor Dorrance S. White, of the State University of Iowa, is now contributing a Latin section to the *Speech Clinic of the Air* from Station WSUI every Thursday and Friday at 4 P.M.

"The aim of this course will be to explain how to develop the ability to read simple Latin prose; how to interpret Latin words and phrases occurring in English; how to appreciate better the meaning of English words derived from Latin, and how to grasp the principles of English grammar through correlation between Latin and English grammar. Careful explanation will be made of the process necessary for recognizing the relation of Latin words to each other through the changes in the endings of the words." The instruction appears to be gratis.

Massachusetts

On May second WELLESLEY COLLEGE will hold a Guest Day in honor of President Ellen F. Pendleton, who will retire at the end of the present year. It is planned to give visitors an opportunity to attend classes and to observe some of the other academic activities of the college. One of the features of the afternoon program will be the presentation of the *Prometheus Bound* by students of the Greek department with the collaboration of the departments of Art, Music and Physical Education. The play will be given in Greek with original masks, music and choral dances. Admission to the activities of the day, including the Greek play, will be by ticket, which may be obtained without charge by applying to Miss Myrtilla Avery, Chairman of Guest Day, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. The committee wishes to have application for tickets made as early as possible, preferably before April fifteenth.

Recent Books¹

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

- WEIGALL, ARTHUR E. P. B., *Life and Times of Marc Antony* (Star Books): Garden City, N. Y., Garden City Publishing Co. (1935). Pp. vii+475. \$1.
- WEST, LOUIS C., *Roman Gaul, The Objects of Trade*: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1935). Pp. xii+191. 7s. 6d.
- WILD, L. N., *Burke's Observations on a Late Publication Entitled "The Present State of the Nation,"* The Chancellor's Prize for Latin Prose Composition: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1935). Pp. 15. 2s.
- WIRTH, HERMAN, *Die Heilige Urschrift der Menschheit*, Lieferung 13: Leipzig, Koehler und Amelung (1935). Pp. 673-768. M. 6.
- WRIGHT, FREDERICK A., and SINCLAIR, THOMAS A., *History of Later Latin Literature*, From the Middle of the 4th to the End of the 17th Century (Cheaper Edition): London, George Routledge and Sons (1935). Pp. 426. 12s. 6d.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.